

559

# CHURCH HISTORY



VOL. I

JUNE, 1932

No. 2

THE PARABLE OF THE TARES AS THE PROOF TEXT FOR  
RELIGIOUS LIBERTY TO THE END OF THE  
SIXTEENTH CENTURY

*By Roland H. Bainton*

THE REV. THOMAS BRADBURY CHANDLER IN THE LIGHT  
OF HIS (UNPUBLISHED) DIARY, 1775-85

*By Frank Gavin*

THE CHURCH HISTORY DEPUTATION  
TO THE ORIENT

*By Shirley Jackson Case*

*Published by*  
The American Society of Church History

# THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF CHURCH HISTORY

FOUNDED BY PHILIP SCHAFF, 1888; REORGANIZED, 1906; INCORPORATED BY ACT OF THE  
LEGISLATURE OF NEW YORK, 1916

## OFFICERS FOR 1932

WILLIAM WARREN SWEET ..... *President*  
CONRAD HENRY MOEHLMAN ..... *Vice President*  
FREDERICK WILLIAM LOETSCHER ..... *Secretary*  
ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS ..... *Treasurer*  
MATTHEW SPINKA ..... *Assistant Secretary*

## OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

HENRY JACOB WEBER	EDWARD STRONG WORCESTER
SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE	WILLIAM DAVID SCHERMERHORN
WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL	ABDEL ROSS WENTZ
GEORGE WARREN RICHARDS	JOHN THOMAS MCNEILL
WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON	JAMES MOFFATT

## EDITORIAL BOARD OF CHURCH HISTORY

MATTHEW SPINKA, *Managing Editor*  
ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS  
WILLIAM WARREN SWEET, *ex officio*

PUBLICATION OFFICE, SCOTSDALE, PENNSYLVANIA

EXECUTIVE AND EDITORIAL OFFICE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

CHURCH HISTORY is a quarterly journal published in March, June, September, December by the American Society of Church History. The subscription price is Three Dollars per year. The price of single copies is seventy-five cents. To foreign countries, the postage of twenty-five cents a year must be added. Subscriptions should be sent to Church History, 610-614 Walnut Ave., Scottdale, Pa., or to Professor Robert Hastings Nichols, 10 Nelson Street, Auburn, New York. Remittances should be made to the order of American Society of Church History.

All communications regarding contributions, book reviews, and other matters of editorial nature should be sent to Professor Matthew Spinka, 5757 University Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Claims for missing numbers and changes of address should be addressed to Church History, Scottdale, Pennsylvania.

Entered as second-class matter March 17, 1932, at the post office at Scottdale, Pennsylvania, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

# CHURCH HISTORY

## EDITORIAL BOARD

MATTHEW SPINKA, *Managing Editor*  
ROBERT HASTINGS NICHOLS  
WILLIAM WARREN SWEET, *ex officio*

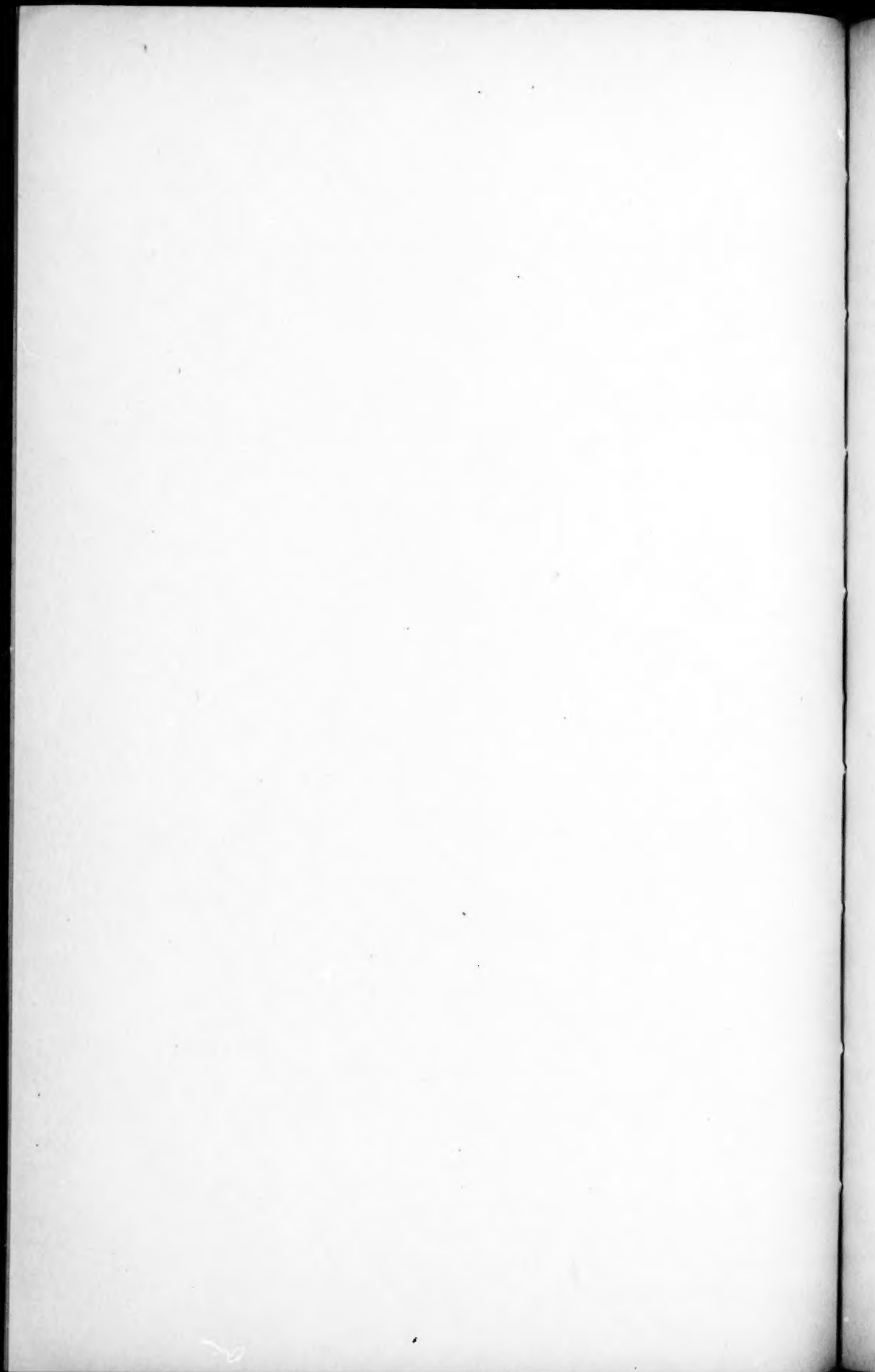
VOL. I

JUNE, 1932

No. 2

## CONTENTS

THE PARABLE OF THE TARES AS THE PROOF TEXT FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY TO THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY By Roland H. Bainton, Yale Divinity School	67
THE REV. THOMAS BRADBURY CHANDLER IN THE LIGHT OF HIS (UNPUBLISHED) DIARY, 1775-1785 By Frank Gavin, The General Theological Seminary	90
THE CHURCH HISTORY DEPUTATION TO THE ORIENT By Shirley Jackson Case, Divinity School of the University of Chicago	107
AMONG THE MEMBERS	110
IN MEMORIAM	111
BOOK REVIEWS	112
CASE, SHIRLEY JACKSON: <i>Jesus through the Centuries</i> . . . . . E. F. Scott	
WHITING, C. E.: <i>Studies in English Puritanism</i> . . . . . M. M. Knappen	
BOGGS, NORMAN TOWAR: <i>The Christian Saga</i> Robert Hastings Nichols	
RYAN, JOHN: <i>Irish Monasticism</i> . . . . . John T. McNeill	
SCUDDER, VIDA D.: <i>The Franciscan Adventure</i> Patrick Joseph Healy	
BACON, T. D.: <i>Leonard Bacon</i> . . . . . Gordon A. Riegler	
BARTOŠ, F. M.: <i>Husitství a cizina</i> . . . . . Matthew Spinka	
AALL, ANATHON: <i>The Hellenistic Elements in Christianity</i> F. W. Buckler	
TELFORD, JOHN, ed.: <i>The Letters of John Wesley</i> . . . . . A. W. Nagler	
HARKNESS, GEORGIA: <i>John Calvin, The Man and His Ethics</i> Quirinus Breen	
NIEBUHR, H. RICHARD: <i>The Social Sources of Denominationalism</i> Herbert W. Schneider	
GOODENOUGH, ERWIN B.: <i>The Church in the Roman Empire</i> Roland H. Bainton	





# Church History

VOL. I

JUNE, 1932

No. 2

## THE PARABLE OF THE TARES AS THE PROOF TEXT FOR RELIGIOUS LIB- ERTY TO THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

ROLAND H. BAINTON, Yale University

The parable of the tares is the proof passage for religious liberty. *Sinite utraque crescere* (Matthew 13, 30) is the counterpart of *compelle intrare* (Luke 14, 23). The apostles of liberty repeat the text with monotonous iteration, although there is an occasional variety in the emphasis. Some stress the rationalistic argument: we do not know enough to separate the tares from the wheat. Others emphasize the eschatological approach: we can afford to be patient because God will burn the tares at the harvest. Others again make a legalistic appeal: Christ has commanded us to leave the tares alone. More interesting are the expedients employed by the persecutors to evade the liberal implications of the parable. The simplest device is to identify the tares not with the heretics, but with the moral offenders within the church. Another subterfuge is to identify the overly zealous servants with the ministers, not with the magistrates, who are not to be hampered by the parable.

We begin with the use of the passage in the early centuries. At once we discover that the interpretation varies in accord with the conception of the church. Those who compare the church to the ark of Noah, outside of which there is no salvation, are loath to expel the moral offender—were there not unclean beasts in the ark?—but eager to force in the heretic, who is surely lost if he remain without. On the other hand those who regard the church as a community of the saints naturally expel the moral offender, who sullies the sanctity of the New Jerusalem, whereas the heretic is by

no means to be forced in, lest an unworthy element be introduced. The one identifies the tares with the delinquent within, the other with the heretic without.

In the age of persecution, almost of necessity, the parable was applied to the moral offender. The church was not yet in a position to coerce the heretic. Ecclesiastical discipline was the only available weapon. Under these circumstances the parable became the favorite resort of those who would err on the side of mercy. The first to appeal to the passage with this intent was Callistus, the bishop of Rome from 217 to 222 A. D. Before his time those guilty of adultery and fornication could never be reconciled with the church on earth. He it was who first let down the bars and ventured to remit these offenses to those who had done suitable penance. In defense of his action he appealed to three Biblical passages. The first was the commission to Peter, "And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Matthew 16, 19). The second was Noah's ark which "was a symbol of the church, for in it were dogs, wolves, ravens and everything clean and unclean; and so he declared it must also be in the church." And the third was our passage, "Let the tares grow together with the wheat."<sup>1</sup>

In all of the succeeding controversies over ecclesiastical discipline, and particularly as to the treatment of those who had lapsed in persecution, the liberal party invariably made appeal to the parable of the tares. A new corollary was drawn from the command to leave them alone, namely that because of their presence in the church the wheat ought not to separate itself and form a schismatic communion. This is the point of Cyprian, who rejoiced that

<sup>1</sup> Tertullian, who does not mention Callistus by name, is our authority for the appeal to Mt. 16, 19. De Pudicitia 21, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* XXI, 269 (abbreviated hereafter as CSEL), *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (abbreviated hereafter as ANF) IV, 99. Hippolytus is the authority for the use of Noah's ark and the parable of the tares. *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium* IX, 12, *Migne Patrologia Graeca* (abbreviated hereafter as P. G.) XVI, pt. 3, 3386. *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*. Hippolytus, Bd. 3 Elenchos IX, 12, 20-23, pp. 249-50. λέγων πᾶσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀφιεσθαι ἀμαρτίαν . . . Ἀλλὰ καὶ παραβολὴν τῶν ζιζανίων πρὸς τοῦτο ἔφη λέγεσθαι. Ἄφετε τὰ ζιζάνια συναυξάνειν τῷ σίτῳ, τοῦτέστιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κωδωνὸν τοῦ Νῶε εἰς ὁμοίωμα ἐκκλησίας ἔφη γεγονέναι, ἐν ᾗ καὶ κύνες καὶ λύκοι καὶ κόρακες καὶ πάντα τὰ καθάρᾳ καὶ ἀκάθαρτα, οὕτω φάσκων δεῖν εἶναι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁμοίως. These passages are collected and discussed by James T. Shotwell and Louise Ropes Loomis, *The See of Peter* (New York, 1927) and by Oscar D. Watkins *A History of Penance* (London and New York, 1920), who gives also the Greek text.

the Roman confessors had returned to the unity of the church, "for even though tares appear in the church our faith and charity ought not thereby to be impeded, so that on account of the presence of the tares we withdraw from the church. Our business is to see to it that we are wheat."<sup>2</sup> This use of the passage is, of course, precisely what we should expect from one who said that he who is without the church has no greater hope of escape than did he who was without the ark of Noah.<sup>3</sup>

Jerome took exactly the same position against the purist, Lucifer of Cagliari, who would not admit to ecclesiastical office those who had ever been tainted with the Arian heresy. Jerome told him that Noah's ark is a type of the church containing doves, lions, stags, worms, and serpents. "While the householder slept an enemy sowed tares and when the servants proposed to root them out the Lord forbade them, reserving to himself the separation of the chaff from the grain. . . . No one can take to himself the prerogative of Christ and judge men before the day of judgment. If the church is purified now what will be left for the Lord?"<sup>4</sup> Note the eschatological emphasis.

Augustine faced the same problem again with the Donatists who would have no fellowship with those who had betrayed the Scriptures in the persecution of Diocletian, nor with their descendants to the third and fourth generation. The Donatists took the position that they were the wheat and could have nothing to do with the church in Africa which was composed wholly of tares. Augustine would admit neither assertion. He is very scornful of the Donatist claim to be wheat. "Just look at the hordes of Circumcellions, look at the convivial drunkards, look at the lewd lechers. Do you call these wheat?"<sup>5</sup> "You are nothing but tares, for if you were wheat you would tolerate the tares among you."<sup>6</sup> On the other hand the Catholic church in Africa is not wholly composed of tares. The wheat has been unfairly blamed for offenses of which

<sup>2</sup> Ep. 51 in Migne *Patrologia Latina* (abbreviated hereafter as P. L.) 4, 352; Ep. 50 in ANF V, 327. Ep. 54, 3 in CSEL III<sup>2</sup>, 622. Nam, etsi videntur in Ecclesia esse zizania, non tamen impediri debet aut fides aut charitas nostra, ut quoniam zizania esse in Ecclesia cernimus ipsi, de Ecclesia recedamus. Nobis tantum modo laborandum est ut frumentum esse possimus.

<sup>3</sup> De Unitate Eccl. VI, CSEL III<sup>1</sup>, 214. Migne P. L. 4, 519; ANF V, 423.

<sup>4</sup> *Dialogus Adversus Luciferianos* 22, Migne P. L. 23, 177, *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (abbreviated hereafter as PNF) 2nd series, VI, 331-32.

<sup>5</sup> Contra Ep. Parmeniani III, 3, 18, CSEL 51, 122.

<sup>6</sup> Ep. 76, CSEL 34, 326. 12-13, PNF I, 343. Fingitis vos ante tempus messis fugere permixta zizania, quia vos estis sola zizania. Nam si frumentum essetis, permixta zizania toleraretis.

it is innocent.<sup>7</sup> And granted that the church of Africa be so corrupt, Africa is not the field, which is rather the world. The Donatists, in separating themselves from the tares in Africa, have cut themselves off from the wheat elsewhere, which was both innocent and ignorant of what had taken place in Africa. In any case the harvest is not now and the Circumcellions are not the reapers.<sup>8</sup> The moral of course is that there should be no secession because of the tares. "The good fish should not leave the net through the holes made by the bad, the sheep should not forsake the pasture of unity because of the goats, the wheat should not abandon the threshing floor because of the chaff, which is either now being dispersed . . . or will be separated at the final winnowing."<sup>9</sup> Here we have again the eschatological emphasis. Patience is to be the more readily practiced because of the hope of an ultimate separation. "You are with the tares in the field. You will not be in the barn."<sup>10</sup>

Augustine would not leave the impression, however, that he is entirely averse to ecclesiastical discipline provided the necessary conditions are present. These may be discovered from a close reading of the parable of the tares. "When the Lord said, . . . 'Let both grow until the harvest' he gave the reason saying, 'lest when you gather up the tares you root out the wheat at the same time,' by which he shows sufficiently that where there is no fear of this and the wheat is firmly established, that is when the offense is public and universally condemned, bereft of defenders or at least of any who would secede, then the severity of discipline must not sleep."<sup>11</sup> This severity must by no means be suffered to reach the point of causing a schism. We should correct with mercy what we

<sup>7</sup> Ep. 43, CSEL 34, 103, 14-15. PNF<sup>1</sup> 1, 283.

<sup>8</sup> Ep. 53, III, 6, CSEL 34, 156, 21. PNF<sup>1</sup> 1, 299; Ep. 76, 2 and 3, CSEL 34, 326-27. PNF<sup>1</sup> 1, 343-44; Ep. 93, 15 and 32, CSEL 34, 459 and 477. 18. PNF<sup>1</sup> 387 and 394. Contra litteras Petiliani II, LXXVIII, 174, CSEL 52, 108. PNF<sup>1</sup> IV, 570.

<sup>9</sup> Contra litteras Petiliani III, II, 3, CSEL 52, 164, PNF<sup>1</sup> IV, 597.

<sup>10</sup> Migne P. L. 38 (Aug. 5, 1) Serm. LXXIII, pp. 470-71; Serm. XXIII, PNF<sup>1</sup> VI, 334.

<sup>11</sup> Contra Ep. Parmeniani, III, 2, 13, CSEL 51, 115. 4-13. nam et ipse dominus, cum servis uolentibus zizania colligere dixit: sinite utraque crescere usque ad messem, praemisit causam dicens: ne forte, cum uultis colligere zizania eradicetis simul et triticum, ubi satis ostendit, <ut>, cum metus iste non subest, sed omnino de frumentorum stabilitate certa securitas manet, id est quando ita cuiusquam crimen notum est et omnibus execrabile apparet, ut uel nullos prorsus uel non tales habeat defensores. per quos possit schisma contingere, non dormiat seueritas disciplinae. . . .



can, and bear with patience what we cannot. What we are unable to remove from our midst let us remove from our hearts.<sup>12</sup>

Augustine throughout moves entirely along conservative lines. By his time the coercion of heretics had become an acute issue with which no one was more concerned than he. Yet in his tolerant period he never, to my knowledge, appealed to the parable of the tares as against the coercion of heretics, nor in his later period did he feel the necessity of explaining away the liberal implications. In letter 93 in which he justifies coercion and introduces the ominous, *compelle intrare*, even here he does not feel that *sinite utraque crescere* is an embarrassment. In this very epistle he continues to use the passage as did Callistus against the Montanists, Cyprian against the Novatianists, and Jerome against the Luciferians.<sup>13</sup>

In the meantime the way was being paved for another interpretation. Tertullian called Praxeas a tare.<sup>14</sup> The point is not that he should be let alone, but that he will be rooted up sooner or later. Yet it is significant that the parable should be applied to a heretic by a man who thought of the church as a community of the saints, and who violently opposed the lenient policy of Callistus toward the moral delinquent. If Tertullian here draws no inferences for religious liberty he could state the case clearly enough elsewhere, as when he said, "It is not in the nature of religion to coerce religion which must be adopted freely and not by force."<sup>15</sup>

Origen similarly identified the tares with "corrupt doctrines adhering to the soul."<sup>16</sup> He too draws no liberal inferences here, but elsewhere in reply to the jibe of Celsus that the Christians hate one another with a perfect hatred, Origen answers that those who hold different opinions and will not be convinced, after a first and second admonition, are indeed to be rejected (Titus 3, 10), but the corrupters of Christianity are not to be regarded with hatred.<sup>17</sup>

We have already noticed that Jerome, in combatting the Luciferians, applied the parable to the moral delinquent, but in

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. III, 2, 14-15, CSEL 51, 116-18.

<sup>13</sup> Ep. 93, IX, 33 and X, 36, CSEL 34, 479 and 481, PNF<sup>1</sup> 1, 394 and 395. Cf. De Moribus eccl. Cath. XXXIV, 76, Migne P. L. 32 (Aug. 1) 1342, PNF<sup>1</sup> IV, 62. Contra Faustum Manichaeum XIII, 16, CSEL 35, 397, PNF<sup>1</sup> IV, 205.

<sup>14</sup> Adversus Praxean 1, CSEL 47, 228, ANF III, 598.

<sup>15</sup> Ad Scapulam 2, Migne P. L. 1, 699, ANF III, 105. Sed nec religionis est cogere religionem, quae sponte suscipi debeat, non vi.

<sup>16</sup> Τα προσπεφυκότα τῇ ψυχῇ φαῦλα δόγματα. Migne P. G. 13, Comment. in Mt. X, 840.

<sup>17</sup> Contra Celsum V, LXIII, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller Origenes, Bd. 2, p. 67, ANF IV, 571.



another passage he extended the application to all offenses, including heresy. We thus see that these interpretations are not mutually exclusive. It is quite possible to be lenient toward the sinner and toward the heretic, or to be severe toward both, or again to discriminate. Jerome, in spite of his scurrilous polemic, plead for patience toward the heretic, "since he who is to-day depraved by noxious doctrine tomorrow may turn and begin to defend the truth." A loophole is left open however. We are enjoined to reserve judgment "where the case is dubious." What if we think it clear? In any case we are consoled that some heretics and hypocrites are sure of hell in the end.<sup>18</sup>

Chrysostom squarely identified the tares with the heretics. The Master commanded that they be let alone lest the wheat be rooted out as well. "This he said forbidding wars and bloodshed and slaughter to arise. We ought not to put a heretic to death because thereby we should let loose a truceless war upon the world. Our Lord restrains the servants by these two reasons, first, lest the wheat be hurt and secondly that the tares will be punished eventually if incurable. If then you wish to punish them without hurt to the wheat wait until the proper time. And what is the meaning of this, 'Lest you root out the wheat with them?' Either he means that if you resort to arms and slay the heretics many of the saints also will necessarily be slain with them, or else he means that in all probability many of the tares may change and become wheat. . . . He does not therefore forbid us to restrain heretics, to stop their mouths, to take away their freedom of speech, to break up their assemblies and societies, he forbids us merely to kill and slay."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Comment. in Evang. Matth. II, XIII, Migne P. L. 26, 93-94.

Omnia scandala referuntur ad zizania. . . inimicus homo supersemīnet zizania, hoc est, haeticorum dogmata. Quod autem dicitur; Ne forte colligentes zizania, eradicetis simul et frumentum, datur locus poenitentiae, et monemur ne cito amputemus fratrem; quia fieri potest, ut ille qui hodie noxio depravatus est dogmate, cras resipiscat et defendere incipiat veritatem. . . Praemonet ergo Dominus, ne ubi quid ambiguum est, cito sententiam proferamus; . . manifestum est haeticos quosque et hypocritas fidei gehennae ignibus concremandos.

<sup>19</sup> In Matthaecum Homil. Migne P. G. 58, 477-78, PNF<sup>1</sup> (Chrysostom) X, 288-89. Τοῦτο δὲ ἔλεγε, κωλύων τοὺς πολέμους γίνεσθαι καὶ αἵματα καὶ σφαγὰς. Οὐ γὰρ δεῖ ἀναιρεῖν αἰρετικόν· ἐπεὶ πόλεμος ἄσπονδος ἐμελλεν εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην εἰσάγεσθαι. Δύο τοίνυν τούτους αὐτοὺς κατέχει τοῖς λογισμοῖς· ἐνὶ μὲν, τῷ μὴ τὸν σίτον βλαβῆναι· ἐτέρῳ δέ, τῷ καταλήψεσθαι τὴν κόλασιν πάντως αὐτοὺς ἀνιάτως νοσοῦντας. Ὅστε εἰ βούλει καὶ κολασθῆναι αὐτούς, καὶ χωρὶς τῆς τοῦ σίτου βλάβης, ἀνάμεινον τὸν προσήκοντα καιρὸν. Τί δέ ἐστι, Μὴ ἐκριζώσητε ἅμα αὐτοῖς τὸν σίτον; Ἢ τοῦτό φησιν, ὅτι εἰ μέλλοιτε κτείνειν ὅπλα καὶ κατασφάττειν τοὺς αἰρετικούς, ἀνάγκη πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἁγίων συγκαταβάλλεσθαι. ἢ ὅτι ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἕξανίων πολλοὺς εἰκὸς μεταβαλέσθαι καὶ γενέσθαι σίτον. . . Οὐ τοίνυν κατέχειν αἰρετικούς καὶ ἐπιστομίζειν, καὶ ἐκκόπτειν αὐτῶν τὴν παρρησίαν, καὶ τὰς συνόδους καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς διαλύειν κωλύει, ἀλλ' ἀναιρεῖν καὶ κατασφάττειν.

Entirely in line with Chrysostom is Pseudo-Augustine, who distinctly raised the question as to whether the parable is to be applied to the moral offender within or to the heretic without. He answered that the tares are the heretics. The delinquents are rather the chaff, but both are to be left, the one until the harvest, the other until the winnowing.<sup>20</sup>

In the Middle Ages both in the East and in the West there are isolated echoes of Jerome and Chrysostom. In the East Theodore Studita (born 759 A. D.) observed that Chrysostom's prediction of war as the fruit of repression had been only too well fulfilled in the Iconoclastic controversy, "The Lord," declared Theodore, "has forbidden such violence by the command, 'No, lest in gathering up the tares you root out the wheat at the same time. Let both grow until the harvest.' That the tares signify the heretics both present and to come is pointed out by Chrysostom." Then follows the quotation given above ending with the prediction of wars. "These have come to pass in our day, for the whole world about us is full of bloodshed and slaughter, in which many of the saints have passed away. . . . What then shall we say, that it is not lawful to kill heretics? It is not lawful even to curse them. . . . Rather should we pray for them as the Lord himself showed at the time of his passion saying, 'Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.' . . . The ignorant should be taught, not punished. To be sure the magistrate bears not the sword in vain, but not against those in whose case the Lord has forbidden it. The rulers of bodies may punish those who are convicted in the body, but not those who have offended in the soul, for this belongs to the rulers of souls, and the penalties which they inflict are excommunication and the like."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Quaestionum Septemdecim in Evangelium Secundum Matth. 1, Quaest. XI, XII, Migne P. L. 35, 1367-69.

Sed recte quaeritur utrum haeretici sint, an male viventes Catholici . . . verumtamen quoniam Dominus agrum ipsum, non Ecclesiam, sed hunc mundum interpretatus est, bene intelliguntur haeretici (XI, 1). Toleranda sunt autem non solum zizania usque ad messem . . . sed etiam paleam usque ad ventilationem (XI, 5).

<sup>21</sup> Ep. Lib. II, CLV, Migne P. G. 99, 1482-86. ὁ Κύριος ἀπηγόρευσεν ἐν τοῖς Εὐαγγελίοις τοῦτο, εἰπὼν· Οὐ μὴποτε συλλέγοντες τὰ ζιζάνια, ἐκριζώσητε αἶμα αὐτοῖς τὸν σῖτον. Ἀφετε συναρξάνεσθε μέχρι τοῦ θερισμοῦ . . . καὶ ὅτι τὰ ζιζάνια τοὺς αἱρετικούς εἶρηκε, τοὺς τε τῆνικαὶτα δηλονότι, καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἤγουν ἅπαντας, ἀκουσόμεθα τοῦ Χρυσόστομου αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐρμηνεύοντος· ἐφ' ᾧ τὰδε . . . (citation from Chrysostom) "Ὅπερ καὶ γέγονεν ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις. Καὶ γὰρ αἵματα καὶ σφαγαὶ ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην· καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἁγίων συναπλήθον . . . καὶ τί λέγομεν περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν κτενεσθαι τοὺς αἱρετικούς; οὐδὲ γε κατεύχεσθαι αὐτῶν συγκεχώρηται ἡμῖν . . . Οὐτε οὖν . . . κατεύχεσθαι δεῖ ὅλως· μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν ὑπερέυχεσθαι· ὥς αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος ὑπέδειξεν

A like protest was uttered by Theophilactus, bishop of Achrida in Bulgaria in the eleventh century. "The tares," said he, "are the heresies or evil thoughts . . . the servants are the angels, who were distressed at the presence of heresies and evil in the soul and desired to pull up and kill the heretics and evil minded. But God did not suffer the destruction of the heretics by wars lest the righteous also suffer and be destroyed. Likewise God does not desire that a man be cut off because of evil thoughts lest the wheat also perish. If, for example, Matthew had been killed while he was a tare, the wheat of the Word which was later to sprout from him would have been destroyed together with him. So also in the case of Paul and the thief."<sup>22</sup>

In the West, Bede repeated Jerome.<sup>23</sup> Remigius of Auxerre said that the Lord desired "all heretics and whatever doctors to be left for His own judgment because only with difficulty can they be brought to a knowledge of the truth."<sup>24</sup>

A striking plea for liberty was based upon the parable in 1048 by Wazo, the prince bishop of Luik, writing to the bishop of Chalons, who had taken council with him as to how to treat the heretics in his district. Wazo replied, "Let both grow together until the harvest." What does our Lord indicate by these words if not the patience which he desires preachers to show to their erring neighbors, especially since those who are tares to-day may be wheat tomorrow. . . . Let us have no more of the judgment of men,

ἐν τῷ τοῦ πάθους καιρῷ, λέγων πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Πατέρα· Πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν· οὐ γὰρ οἶδασι τί ποιοῦσι . . . Διδάσκεισθαι γὰρ, οὐ τιμωρεῖσθαι χρὴ τοὺς ἀγνοοῦντας . . . Οὐ γὰρ εἰκὴ, φησί, τὴν μάχαιραν φοροῦσιν . . . οὐ μὴν ἐφ' οὗτος ὁ Κύριος ἐκώλυσεν, ἐπιτρέπειν χρὴ. Σωμάτων γὰρ ἄρχοντες, τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σωματικοῖς ἁλόντας ἐξόν αὐτοῖς κολάζειν· οὐχὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ ψυχὴν τῶν γὰρ ψυχῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦτο· ὧν τὰ κολαστήρια, ἀφορισμοί, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ ἐπιτιμῖαι. This passage is summarized by Luigi Luzzati, *God in Freedom* (New York, 1930) pp. 100-105.

<sup>22</sup> Enarratio in Ev. Matthaei XIII, Migne P. G. 123, 283-86. Ζιζάνια, αἱ αἱρέσεις, ἢ οἱ πονηροὶ λογισμοί . . . Δούλοι δέ, οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ ἀγανακτοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ εἶναι αἱρέσεις, ἢ πονηρίας ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, καὶ βούλονται ἀνασπᾶν καὶ ἐκκόπτειν ἐκ τοῦ βίου τοὺς τε αἱρετικούς καὶ τοὺς τὰ πονηρὰ λογιζομένους. Ὁ Θεὸς οὐ συγχωρεῖ τοὺς αἱρετικούς διὰ πολέμων ἀναλίσκεσθαι, ἵνα μὴ συμπάσχωσι καὶ συναλίσκωνται καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι. Ὁμοίως οὐδὲ διὰ τοὺς πονηροὺς λογιμοὺς θέλει ὁ Θεὸς ἐκκόπτειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα μὴ καὶ ὁ σίτος συνδιαφθάρῃ. Ὅλον ἐάν ὁ Ματθαῖος ζιζάνιον ὦν ἐκόπη ἐκ τῆς ζωῆς, συνεξεκόπη αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ὕστερον μέλλον ἐξ αὐτοῦ βλαστήσῃ τοῦ λόγου σίτος· ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ Παῦλος, καὶ ὁ ληστής.

<sup>23</sup> Migne P. L. 92, 68-69.

<sup>24</sup> Migne P. L. 131, 930. ut omnes haeretici et quilibet doctores proprio arbitrio relinquuntur, quoniam difficulter possunt trahi ad scientiam veritatis. Aquinas in the *Catena Aurea* quotes from Remigius' Commentary on Matthew. The English translators (Oxford, 1841) say that in their day the commentary of Remigius was not in print. In the portions printed by Migne I cannot discover the passages cited by St. Thomas.

who are but dust. Let us hear rather the judgment of the creator lest we seek by the sword of the secular power to remove from this life those whom the creator and redeemer God so spares that they may return to his will from the snares of the devil by which they have been held. Thus, thus indeed ought we to reserve them for the final harvest of the Father . . . because those whom the field of this world regards as tares, the harvest may discover to be wheat and those whom we now hold as adversaries in the way of the Lord, possibly the omnipotent God will place above us in the heavenly country. . . . In the meantime we ought to remember that we who are called bishops did not in our ordination receive the sword of the secular power, so that we are bound to God, our maker, not to kill and to make alive. There is another way to treat schismatics of which you are not ignorant, namely that they be deprived of Catholic communion. . . . <sup>25</sup>

We now come to Thomas Aquinas, who here as elsewhere, synthesized previous thought and practice. He had before him the commentaries on the parable by Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, and Pseudo-Augustine, which he regarded as genuine, of Remigius, Bede and others.<sup>26</sup> To harmonize these with one another and with the practice of the church, which in his day allowed the execution of heretics, was a problem calling for a signal ingenuity. Well might Saint Thomas have said with Julian the Apostate, when set to drill troops, "O Plato, Plato, what a task for a philosopher." St. Thomas was equal to it. He did not lighten the task by identifying the tares with the moral offenders only, but boldly applied the passage with Jerome, Chrysostom, and Pseudo-

<sup>25</sup> Paul Frederico, *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis haereticæ pravitatis Neerlandicae* (Gent and 's Gravenhage, 1889) 1, 6-7.

Sinite utraque crescere usque ad messem. . . . Quid his verbis nisi patientiam suam Dominus ostendit, quam praedicatores suos erga errantes proximos exhibere desiderat, maxime cum hi qui hodie zizania sunt, possibile sit cras converti et esse triticum? . . . Cesset ergo iudicium pulveris, audita sententia conditoris, nec eos queramus per secularis potentiae gladium huic vitae subtrahere, quibus vult idem creator et redemptor Deus sicut novit parcere, ut resipiscant a diaboli laqueis quibus capti tenentur, ad ipsius voluntatem. Sic, sic nimirum tales ultimae illius patris familias messi a nobis convenit reservari, quidque messores suos de his facere iubeat, sicut et de nobismet ipsis cum timore et tremore oportet expectari, quia horum quoslibet, quos mundi huius ager zizania habet, messis illa forsitan triticum inveniet, et quos in via Domini adversarios nunc habemus, possibile omnipotenti Deo est in illa coelesti patria nobis facere etiam superiores. . . . Interim nichilominus meminisse debemus, quod nos, qui episcopi dicimur, gladium in ordinatione quod est secularis potentiae non accipimus, ideoque non ad mortificandum sed potius ad vivificandum auctore Deo inungimur. Est tamen aliud quod solliciti de praedictis agendum est scismaticis, quot et vos nequaquam ignoratis, ut ipsi eisque communicantes catholica communione priventur. . . .

<sup>26</sup> *Catena Aurea*, English Translation (Oxford 1841) Matthew II, 495-502.



Augustine to the heretic. How now avoid their conclusion that the tares should not be rooted out? Here Augustine's change of front was a great mercy. Aquinas skillfully placed Chrysostom and Augustine side by side without comment. Chrysostom declares that "the Lord does not forbid all restraint upon heretics . . . but only that they should be put to death." Then Augustine takes up the theme. "This indeed was at first my opinion, that no one should be driven by force into the unity of Christ."<sup>27</sup> Does not this juxtaposition leave the impression that Augustine has reversed Chrysostom's objection to the death penalty? Whether or no, the parable was still to be explained. Here Aquinas availed himself of the observation made by Augustine in a very different connection, namely that the Lord is concerned only for the wheat and not for the tares which may be rooted out provided they are easy to distinguish and the wheat is well established. Augustine was talking about the discipline of the delinquent. Aquinas applies this comforting reflection to the coercion of the heretic. The theory of the Middle Ages was complete.<sup>28</sup>

The inquisitors of the sixteenth century found the exegesis of Aquinas highly useful. In 1556 Claes de Praet asked his examiner whether he regarded him as tares or wheat. The reply, of course, was that Claes corresponded to the tares. "Then why do you not let me grow until the harvest?"

"Because the master of the field gave this command to his servants lest they hurt the wheat and pull it out along with the tares, but I can skirt along the edge and pluck out one or two here and there sometimes six or eight or even ten or twelve, yes, and sometimes a hundred without hurting the wheat."<sup>29</sup>

When now we turn to the Protestant Reformation we find the

<sup>27</sup> *Catena Aurea*, loc. cit from Augustine Ep. 93, V. 17, CSEL 34, 461.

<sup>28</sup> *Sancti Thomae Aquinatis Doctoris Angelici Opera Omnia* (Rome, 1895) VIII, *Secunda secundae Summae Theologiae* Quaest. X, art. VIII, pp. 88-89. *Utrum infideles compellendi sint ad fidem*. Here St. Thomas quotes Chrysostom on Mt. XIII, Augustine Epp. 93 and 185 in favor of the coercion of heretics and Contra Epist. Parmen. III, II, where Augustine points out that the tares may be rooted out if there is no danger to the wheat. Quaest XI art. III *Utrum haeretici sint tolerandi*, p. 100. *Si tamen totaliter eradicentur per mortem haeretici, non est etiam contra mandatum Domini, quod est in eo casu intelligendum quando non possunt extirpari zizania sine extirpatione tritici, ut supra dictum est, cum de infidelibus in communi ageretur.*

<sup>29</sup> Van Braght, *Het bloedig Tooneel* (Amsterdam, 1685) II, 170.

Dat de Heere des ackers sijn dienaers beval/ dat was daerom/ dat sy dat goed kruid niet bederven souden met dat quaet uyt te trekken: Maer ik kan wel gaen langs de kanten/ en plucken hier en daer een plucxken of twee/ ja somtijts ses of acht/ ja tien of twaelf/ ja somtijds een hondert of twee/ sonder het goede te bederven.



outstanding reformers taking practically the same ground as the inquisitors. Some of the old devices for emasculating the parable reappear, but there are new ones too, and the most common is to relegate the parable to ministerial rather than magisterial ethics. The minister is to use no constraint against the heretic, nor indeed against any one else. That is not his business. The magistrate, however, must not be hampered by the command to "let both grow," which if extended to the civil sphere would prevent the punishment of the malefactor quite as much as of the heretic. Melancthon expressed this opinion most unequivocally in a memorandum with regard to the Anabaptists addressed to Philip of Hesse in 1536. The passage reads, "The words in the parable of the tares, 'Let both grow,' which may be cited against (our position) do not apply to the civil magistracy, but only to the ministerial office, which exercises no corporal coercion. From this it is clear that the magistrate is bound to punish corporally blasphemy, false teaching, heresies and their partisans."<sup>30</sup> Likewise Justus Menius asserted that the magistrate is not affected by the texts "Let both grow until the harvest," and "Go in peace and sin no more." For him the texts are, "He beareth not the sword in vain," etc.<sup>31</sup>

Calvin and Zwingli in combatting the Anabaptists applied the parable, as the early Fathers had done against similar purists, not to the heretics, but to the evil doers on whose account there should be no secession. "Christ told us," wrote Zwingli, "to let the tares grow with the wheat until the harvest. We entertain the bold hope that some may return to a sound mind who now are opposed. And if they do not, the good may always live among the bad. I fear that a secession in the present state of affairs would cause confusion."<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Corpus Reformatorum* III, 199. Das aber dagegen angezogen werden diese Worte vom Unkraut; lasset beides wachsen, das ist nicht zu weltlicher Obrigkeit geredt, sondern zum Predigtamt, dass sie unterm Schein ihres Amts keinen leiblichen Gewalt üben sollen. Aus diesem ist nun klar, dass weltlich Obrigkeit schuldig ist, Gotteslästerung, falsch Lehre, Ketzereien und die Anhänger um Leib zu strafen.

<sup>31</sup> Wappler, Paul, *Die Stellung Kursachsens u. des Landgrafen Philipp v. Hessen zur Täuferbewegung, Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte*. Heft 13 v. 14. (Münster i. W. 1910) pp. 87, 110, cf. 61. A similar passage from Georg Major (1563) is cited by Nikolaus Paulus, *Protestantismus u. Toleranz im 16. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg i. Brei., 1911) pp. 58-59.

<sup>32</sup> In *Catabaptistarum Strophas Elenchus Huldrici Zuinglii. Huldrici Zuinglii Opera*. Schuler and Schulthess. III, 363. Quemadmodum Christus ipse docuit in talibus rerum primordiis, qualia tum nostra erant. Praecepisse eundem quoque, ut et zizania crescere cum tritico pateremur usque in diem messis; spem autem nos audacem habere in diem plures esse ad bonam mentam redituros, qui nunc abhorrent. Quod si minus fieret, piissimis tamen semper vivere licere inter impiissimos. Secessionem in eo rerum statu quid turbae daturam me vereri.

Calvin appeared in the role of Portia pleading with the heartless Anabaptists to exercise greater leniency toward the fallen. These inexorable saints, according to Calvin, excommunicate even on account of involuntary sins and declare that the voluntary are irremissible. "I say that this opinion is an execrable blasphemy against the grace of God."<sup>33</sup> But "let us adhere to the words of our Lord that to the end of the world we must endure many tares for fear that if we pull them out we destroy also the good grain."<sup>34</sup> "We ought not to withdraw from the church because of every trivial difference in doctrine and our indulgence should go much further in tolerating imperfection of life."<sup>35</sup> "Let them (the Anabaptists and the like) remember that the church is like a field sown with good grain in which an enemy by guile introduced tares which are not to be purged until the harvest."<sup>36</sup>

So long as the parable was restricted in this fashion to the evil liver within the church the question of heresy could be avoided, but Calvin was not the man to evade difficulties, and in his justification of the execution of Servetus, he came to grips with the problem. A rigid application of the parable, he pointed out, would eliminate both the sword of the magistrate and all ecclesiastical discipline. "Christ then did not command that all rigor should cease, but merely that those evils should be endured which cannot be corrected without danger." Is not this the position of Aquinas and the inquisitors? "Christ would also remind us that no matter how zealously each may strive according to his office to eradicate vice, nevertheless severity will never succeed to the point that no vestiges of evil will remain."<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Brieve Instruction Contre Les Anabaptistes. *Corpus Reformatorum, Calvini Opera*, VII, 74. Je dy que ceste opinion est un blasphemé execrable contre la grace de Dieu.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. p. 67. Tenons donc en somme ce que dit nostre Seigneur, que jusque à la fin du monde il nous faut endurer beaucoup de mauvaises herbes, de peur que si nous voulions tout arracher, nous ne perdions le bon grain quant et quant.

<sup>35</sup> Institutio VIII, 13 and 14, *Calvini Opera* 1, (the editions of 1539-1554) p. 545. sed dico non temere ob quaslibet dissensiunculas deserendam nobis ecclesiam. . . . In vitae autem imperfectione toleranda multo longius procedere indulgentia nostra debet.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. p. 546.

<sup>37</sup> Refutatio Errorum Michaelis Serveti, *Calvini Opera* VIII, 472. Si praecise nobiscum agunt ex verborum formula, non tantum prohibentur magistratus ab usu gladii, sed omnem disciplinam e medio tolli oportet. . . . Non igitur quemlibet rigorem cessare Christus iubet, sed toleranda esse mala admonet quae sine pernicie corrigi nequeunt. Et certe quamlibet sedulo et animose quisque pro suo officio eradicandis vitiis incumbat, numquam eousque proficiet severitas quin multae vitiorum reliquiae maneant.

Theodore Beza, also justifying the execution of Servetus, was more explicit than Calvin. All of the older interpretations, said Beza, are forced. Chrysostom and Augustine said that the tares should be left because they might turn into wheat, that is the heretics into the orthodox. But this interpretation will not do. "The Master called those tares who were sown by the devil, that is the reprobate, who are and always will be tares. If any of the heretics return to a sound mind, they must from the beginning have been the elect although for a time they appeared as tares."<sup>38</sup> Chrysostom and Theophylactus do violence to the parable when they say that the mouths of the heretics are to be stopped although their lives are to be spared. So also does Augustine when he says that severity should not sleep provided there is no danger of schism.<sup>39</sup> As a matter of fact the parable has "nothing to do either with civil or ecclesiastical discipline."<sup>40</sup> To press the details of parables always leads to absurdities. We must consider the main point, which in this case is a word of consolation. "We can never hope for the complete purification of the church in this world, but this world will not last forever."<sup>41</sup> By the best piece of exegesis which we have thus far met, Beza cleared the ground for the burning of heretics. "The servants," he tells us, "did not ask, 'Do you wish us to kill a vile blasphemer and contender against thy sacred majesty and a disturber of the authority of the church?' To this question, if by the servants you mean the civil magistrates, the Master would have replied exactly what Moses decreed against blasphemers and contentious false prophets."<sup>42</sup>

I have saved Luther until now because his interpretations of the parable are both diverse and dubious. One can almost trace the

<sup>38</sup> *De Haereticis a Civili Magistratu puniendis Libellus, aduersus Martini Bellii farraginem, et nouorum Academicorum sectam.* (1554) pp. 145-6.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid* pp. 146-7.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* p. 153.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 152-3.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* p. 154. Quare vt libere dicam quod sentio, neque de Ciuili, neque de Ecclesiastica iurisdictione hic agi puto. . . . (153) Quam obrem in hac quoque parabola singulas eius partes ad eius finem & scopum puto applicandas. . . . Consolatur autem nos Paterfamilias noster a quo sati sumus, & nobis praedicat perpetuam quidem fore hanc Ecclesiae in hoc mundo conditionem, & nunquam hic defutura zizania: itaque non esse quod integram Ecclesiae repurgationem in hoc mundo speremus, sed hunc mundum perpetuum non fore. . . . 152-3). Neque item quaerunt, Num vis vt scelestum et blasphemum atque adeo factiosum hunc maiestatis tuae & Ecclesiasticae auctoritatis perturbatorem e vita deturbemus? Respondisset enim profecto Paterfamilias si per seruos, ciuiles Magistratus accipias, hoc ipsum quod per Mosen edixit in blasphemos & factiosos pseudoprophetas (154).

development of his attitude to religious liberty by merely observing what he makes of the tares. In 1518 he wrote, "Let the Apostle indeed be deemed worthy of credence when he says, 'There must be heresies' (I Cor. 11, 19), but we say, 'By no means, but we should burn heretics and destroy the root with the fruit, the tares with the wheat.'"<sup>43</sup>

Again in 1525 Luther introduced, as a commentary upon this passage, one of his noblest pleas for religious liberty. His words are: "Secondly as to how we should treat heretics and false teachers, we ought not to eradicate and exterminate them. Christ says openly here that they should be left to grow together. God's Word is our only recourse, for in such matters he who is wrong to-day may be right tomorrow. Who knows whether the Word of God may touch his heart? But if he is burned or otherwise destroyed his conversion is rendered impossible. He is cut off from the Word of God and he who might otherwise have been saved is of necessity lost. That is why the Lord said that the wheat might be rooted out with the tares. This is atrocious in God's eyes and absolutely indefensible.

"See then what mad folk we have so long been who have wished to force the Turks to the faith with the sword, the heretic with fire and the Jews with death, to root out the tares with our own power as if we were the people who could rule over hearts and spirits and make them religious and good, which God's Word alone must do. But by death we cut them off from the Word, so that it cannot operate and we do our best to bring upon our heads the responsibility for two deaths, in that we destroy at once the body temporally and the spirit eternally and we say afterwards that we have rendered God a service and have earned some credit in heaven. Wherefore the inquisitors and murderers, if their brows be not iron, might well be terrified by this parable, if they had genuine heretics before them. As it is they burn true saints and are themselves heretics. What does this come to, if not that like imbeciles they are rooting out the wheat and calling it the tares?"<sup>44</sup>

Luther here introduces some of the considerations which con-

<sup>43</sup> Weimar Ausgabe (abbreviated hereafter as W. A.) 1, 625. 5. Luther goes on to say that we are not to leave the church on account of the tares. "If Christ and his saints had done this who would have been saved?" I was chagrined to discover how grievously I had blundered in translating this last sentence in the *Harvard Theological Review*, XXII, No. 2, April, 1929, p. 122. The following excerpts from Luther and Erasmus are so extensive that I have thought it better to omit the originals, especially since they are not difficult of access.

<sup>44</sup> *Fastenpostille* 1525 W. A. 17II, 125.



stantly reappear in the literature of religious liberty, namely that the spiritual alone may judge of the spiritual and that the whole attempt to repress heresy by force has resulted rather in the martyrdom of the saints.

By 1528 Luther was rapidly shifting ground though he had not yet come to approve of the death penalty for the sectaries. "Here at Wittenberg," he wrote, "we have now a little sheaf of pure wheat, although we have not quite eliminated the tares, but round about us almost everything is full of tares in every place with scarcely an exception."<sup>45</sup> "But where I know that there is one Christian, I would tolerate an entire land of Unchristians rather than destroy one Christian with the Unchristians. What did the Lord mean when he said, 'Let both grow together?' Are we by no means to root out the tares? This is very needful teaching for us preachers, for I would gladly be one of the servants to help root out the tares, but it cannot and should not be. But is one then to do nothing and let the tares grow entirely unhindered? Here our Papists are grown canny and throw this text up to us and say that we here at Wittenberg have done wrong to suppress the private masses. We should have left masses and cloisters alone. But they do not rightly regard the text, for the Lord does not say that we should not ward off the tares, but merely that we should not root them out. Then they carry the text further and say that since many cloisters were destroyed through God's anger in the Peasants' War, they should now be rebuilt . . . but Christ was talking about growing, not about sowing."<sup>46</sup> "The Lord Christ wished to show that his kingdom is and should be distinct from the civil kingdom. Christ's kingdom does nothing with fist and sword. God has commanded the civil kingdom to bear the sword and root out the bad. . . ."<sup>47</sup> Here Luther is relegating the parable to ministerial rather than to magisterial ethics, but he does not yet draw the full consequences. "A prince or a town must see to it and not suffer more than one kind of preaching in the territory in order to avoid disunity and commotion. . . . The authorities should hear both sides and judge the matter according to the certain rule of Scripture and God's Word. The side which teaches correctly according to Scripture and God's Word should be allowed to remain. The other . . . should be dismissed, but there should

---

<sup>45</sup> W. A. 52, 831. 12-15.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. p. 835.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. p. 836.



be no extermination. . . . The tares are already condemned and adjudged to the fire. . . . Why then attack a thief who is already condemned to the gallows?"<sup>48</sup>

The next sermon on this parable is to be dated somewhere between 1531 and 1535.<sup>49</sup> In the meantime Luther had come to approve of the death penalty for heresy. This sermon significantly begins with a reference to Augustine's change of mind.<sup>50</sup> Luther then avails himself of two devices which we have already met for evading the liberalism of the parable. The first is to apply the story to the moral offender rather than to the heretic. "The meaning," writes Luther, "is that Christ is not talking especially of the heretics, but he is giving a comparison to the kingdom of heaven, that is of the whole Christian church."<sup>51</sup> We are to expect impurity in the church. "Many take offense because among us too the tares are found in heaps and there is more greed, usury, unchastity, debauchery, lying and cheating than under the papacy. On this account the Gospel and the preachers are taunted by nearly every one, with the reproach, 'If the teaching were right the people would be better.' The Gospel, however, is not to blame, but the devil who sowed the tares."<sup>52</sup> Luther had reason to be grateful to these unworthy folk for providing a means of diverting the parable of the tares from the heretics. At the same time he employed the other device of restricting the parable to the ministerial sphere. The magistrate is not restrained. "Each should give a hand to the other. The spiritual government uses the Word and the ban, the civil uses the sword and force that the people may be godly and all offense may be avoided. . . . The magistrate bears the sword with the command to cut off offense. . . . Now the most dangerous and atrocious offense is false teaching and an incorrect church service."<sup>53</sup>

Now we turn to the liberals of the 16th century, whether in the Catholic or the Protestant camp. The first is Erasmus. In

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. p. 838.

<sup>49</sup> It is given without date in Dietrich's *Hauspostille* published in 1544. The other sermons in the collection range from 1531 to 1535. See W. A. 52, 130-35 and the introduction.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. p. 130, cf. p. 135.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. p. 130, 21f.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. p. 132 condensed.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. pp. 135, 26-29 and 134, 40-135. 3. I have not discussed here the sermon of 1546 (W. A. 51, 173-187), because the meaning is so debated. See my article "The Development and Consistency of Luther's Attitude to Religious Liberty," *Harvard Theological Review*, XXII, No. 2, April, 1929, pp. 107-149.

the *Paraphrase on Matthew* he wrote, "The servants who wish to root up the tares before the time are those who think that false prophets and heresiarchs are to be removed by sword and death, whereas the Master wished not to destroy but to tolerate them if perchance they might turn and from tares become wheat. If they do not turn they are reserved for the judgment of Him who will punish them some day."<sup>54</sup>

Bedda took exception to this interpretation and Erasmus defended himself in a disconcerting combination of slashing and hedging.<sup>55</sup> "Augustine," wrote Erasmus, "did not disapprove if God stirred up the princes to coerce those who disturb the tranquillity of the church, but who ever heard that the orthodox bishops excited kings to butcher heretics who were nothing more than heretics? . . . The bishop's task is, as far as he may, to teach, correct and cure. What sort of a bishop is he who can do nothing more than constrain, torture and commit to the flames? . . . In a case where the theologian accuses, imprisons, prosecutes and turns over the victim to the secular judge and where the judge commits to the flames not on his own motion, but in accord with the sentence of the theologian, where the theologian acts as the author and executor of the penalty, how much I ask you does this differ from the shedding of blood?"<sup>56</sup> Then Erasmus retrenches, or does he merely hit harder under the semblance of retrenchment? In the *Paraphrase*, we are told, he was speaking not for himself, but in the person of Christ, nor was he applying the parable to the present time, but to the days of the martyrs. Then he bursts out again. "Did Augustine who would spare the Donatist assassins, Augustine who thought that the honor of the servants of God was stained by the blood of their enemies, did he think that a simple heretic, even though obstinate, should be burned in the flames? However I neither urge nor discourage princes from butchering heretics. I am explaining the office of an ecclesiastic."<sup>57</sup>

Erasmus reverted to the theme in his reply to the Spanish monks. Here again he blazed up. "When I consider," he says,

<sup>54</sup> Paraphrasis in Evang. Matthae Cap. XIII. *Opera Omnia* VII, 80 E. Servi qui volunt ante tempus colligere zizania, sunt ii, qui Pseudoapostolos & Haeresiarchas gladiis ac mortibus existimant e medio tollendos, cum paterfamilias nolit eos exstingui, sed tolerari, si forte resipiscant, & e zizaniis vertantur in triticum. Quod si non resipiscant, servantur suo Judici, cui poenas dabunt aliquando.

<sup>55</sup> Supputatio Errorum in Censuris Beddae, Prop. xxxii, *Opera Omnia* IX, 580-83.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. p. 581.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. pp. 581-82.

"with what mercy Christ planted, nourished, advanced and established his church throughout the centuries I scarcely see how I can approve of the example of some of those who to-day on account of scholastic opinions drag men to prison and the stake, as now we see priests burned because they would rather call a girl, with whom they live, a wife than a concubine."<sup>58</sup> Then again Erasmus hedged, saying that he was applying the parable neither to his own depraved time nor to the sword of the magistrate.<sup>59</sup> But once more he flashed out. "We must consider whether princes, on account of any error should commit a man to the flames who seems to be a heretic. It is very harsh to burn men on account of articles which are not only dubious and controversial, but even trivial, and most harsh to do so because of propositions which the theologians have just made up out of their own heads."<sup>60</sup>

The Faculty of the University of Paris was not satisfied with these explanations and complained of the scandal to be drained from the cup of his honeyed words. Erasmus replied that he dared not mingle human comments with the majesty of the Gospels. "That is the sort of interpreter I should have been if, in the name of Christ or the evangelist, I had explained that the tares should be left four hundred years, until the church was well established, and then killed, if I had done that when Christ said that the tares should be left until the harvest, and himself explained that this meant to the end of the world. . . . I hear some twisting the words of Christ as if he meant that heretics should be spared only when there is no danger that the true doctrine be eradicated along with the error, the good killed with the bad. If this condition is not present they are by no means to be spared. Since this interpretation does not sufficiently agree either with the parable or with the ancient interpreters, I did not dare to introduce it in the name of the evangelist or of Christ. . . . If there is so much danger from my *Paraphrases*, intended for private reading, because I did not expressly commend the killing of heretics, how much more is to be feared from Jerome, Chrysostom, and Augustine, whose works are read by all as having authority and that in the churches? Or why did St. Thomas renew the offense in his *Catena*, citing those passages which the theologians now condemn? But how could any one infer from this passage that I do not approve of killing heretics when

<sup>58</sup> *Adversus Monachos Quosdam Hispanos, Titulus IV, Contra Sanctam Haereticorum Inquisitionem. Opera Omnia*, IX, 1054 D.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1056.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* p. 1056 E-F.

I oppose the partisans of this position in published works?"<sup>61</sup> Name one.

The Protestant liberals drew heavily from Erasmus. Sebastian Franck borrowed both his ideas and his citations, but Franck adds his own characteristic version of the Augustinian conflict of the *civitas Dei* and the *civitas terrena*. For Franck the *civitas Dei* is always small and always persecuted. "Some think," said Franck (and he might have counted himself among the number), "that Christ, when he so vigorously forbade the rooting out of the tares before the harvest, perceived that the world is blind and has no judgment or knowledge of the truth, especially the scribes and the blind leaders of the blind, who had they been given authority to root out the tares, inasmuch as they are themselves the tares, would have rooted out the wheat as the tares, so that they alone would remain in the field, as they have always done not only against the prophets, Christ and the apostles, but also, as many examples show, in our own day."<sup>62</sup>

Sebastian Castellio made *Sinite utraque crescere* almost the motto of his tract *On the Coercion of Heretics*, directed against the execution of Servetus. Here we find collected the opinions of Chrysostom, Augustine, and Pseudo-Augustine, Erasmus, Luther, and Franck. The excerpts from Erasmus and Franck in turn cover much of the earlier literature. Another excerpt from Conrad Peltikan incorporates Erasmus. But Castellio has also his own emphasis. By sharp exegesis he endeavors to demonstrate that the parable must apply not to the moral offender, but to the heretic. "The tares cannot be robbers, adulterers and similar malefactors, for the devil did not sow them after the Gospel, since they were already here, but the tares must be the false doctrine which the devil sowed after the Gospel, that is the heretics and hypocrites."<sup>63</sup> They are to be let alone because we do not know enough

<sup>61</sup> Ad Censuras Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis Declaratio Erasmi LXXIV, *Opera Omnia*, IX, 905-6.

<sup>62</sup> *Chronica Zeitbuch und Geschichtsbibel* (1531) ccccliiij.

Etlich meinen Christus in dem das er das unkraut vor dem schnid ausszureüffen so fleissig verpeüt/ dahin gesehen hab/ das die welt plindt ist/ und kein urteil noch erkantnis der warheit hat/ sunderlich yr schriftgelerten und plindenfürer/ solt yr nun gestat/ der gwalt gegeben/ und der zaum glassen worden sein dz unkraut ausreüffen/ so hette si nun dieweil sie selbs ein unkraut ist/ dz treidt für unkraut aussgeräuffet/ dz sie den acker allein in hette/ wie sie alwegen gepflegt hat/ und nit allein in propheten/ Christo/ Apostelen/ sunder auch heüt vil exempel erscheinen.

<sup>63</sup> *Contra Libellum Calvini* Fv verso, p. 102, Cal. 96. non videtur zyzania appellare latrones et adulteros, caeterosque eius generis maleficos. Non enim sevit Diabolus



to sort them out. Castellio's normal plea in this connection is rationalistic. "What if we say that we cannot err? Those who killed the godly have always said the same. . . . Who ever thought he held a false religion? The Jews erred who persecuted Christ and the apostles; the Gentiles erred who persecuted the Christians. The pope erred in persecuting Lutherans and Zwinglians. Henry VIII of England erred when he killed Papists, Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Anabaptists. Luther erred when he called the Zwinglians devils and consigned them to hell. Will the Zwinglians and Calvinists alone escape error?"<sup>64</sup>

Elsewhere Castellio made an almost legalistic appeal to the command of Christ. "By zeal for Christ we root out the tares though he commanded that they be left to the harvest lest the wheat be destroyed. By zeal for Christ we persecute others. He commanded us to turn the other cheek. By zeal for Christ we do evil to others. He commanded us to render good for evil."<sup>65</sup>

Castellio was not in the least halted by the fears of Beza that a too extensive application of the parable would make the magistrate unduly merciful to criminals. "The king prefers that all the robbers in his kingdom should live rather than that one of his sons should be killed along with them."<sup>66</sup>

Acontius like Castellio was a sharp exegete, pointing out the error of those who supposed that the tares were to be left only in case there was danger to the wheat. "The Master did not say, 'Go, but be extremely careful that you do not destroy the wheat with the

---

post Evangelium, cum essent jam ante Evangelium. Sed videtur zyzania appellare eos, quos Diabolus sevit falsa doctrina post Evangelium cuiusmodi sunt Haeretici et hypocritae.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. Fv j and verso. pp. 103-4, Cal. 96.

Quod si dicemus nos non errare, idem semper dixerunt qui pios occiderunt. . . . Quis unquam putavit se tenere falsam religionem? Errarunt Iudaei qui Christum et Apostolos persecuti sunt. Errarunt gentiles, qui Christianos persecuti sunt. Erravit Papa, qui Lutheranos et Zuingianos persecutus est. Erravit Henricus Angliae Rex, qui Papistas et Lutheranos, et Zuingianos, et Anabaptistas interfecit. Erravit Lutherus, qui Zuingianos, Diabolos appellavit et in Gehennam damnavit. An soli Zuingliani et Calviniani non errabunt?

Compare the Preface to the French Bible and see my article "Sebastian Castellio and the Toleration Controversy of the Sixteenth Century," in *Persecution and Liberty, Essays in Honor of George Lincoln Burr* (New York, 1931), p. 197.

<sup>65</sup> *Traité des Hérétiques*, edited by A. Olivet (Geneva, 1913) pp. 136-37. Par zèle de Christ, nous arracherons l'ivraie, lequel afin que le blé ne fût arraché, a commandé l'ivraie être laissée jusques à la moisson. . . .

<sup>66</sup> *Contra Libellum Calvini* Fv verso, p. 102-3, Cal. 96.

Quemadmodum rex malet ut omnes in suo regno Latrones, viverent, quam si unus regis filius cum omnibus latronibus occideretur.



tares.' But he absolutely forbade them to go, and he desired that the tares as well as the wheat should grow until the harvest.<sup>67</sup>

Among Protestant princes Philip of Hesse in 1545, fifteen years after Luther had gone the way of Augustine, reverted to this passage among others, in favor of mercy. "These passages" (Mt. 13,30; Lk. 9,55 and Rom. 14), he said, "stand in the way so that we cannot feel easy of conscience that a man who errs in faith should be so sharply dealt with, since over night a man may be instructed and turn from his error. If we should condemn such a one so summarily to death we fear greatly that we should not be innocent of his blood."<sup>68</sup>

We should expect the Anabaptists to appeal to this parable in the interests of liberty. Bullinger writes as if the party as a whole understood the tares to be false teachers who should be let alone.<sup>69</sup> Certainly this was the view of Menno Simons. His appeal is usually legalistic. "If," he asks, "our persecutors are Christians, as they claim, if they regard the Word of the Lord as true, why then do they not hear and follow Christ's word and command? Why do they start weeding before the time? Why do they not fear that they will pluck the wheat and not the tares? Why do they assume the office of the angels?"<sup>70</sup>

<sup>67</sup> *Jacobii Acontii Satanae Stratagematum libri octo*. Curavit Gualtherus Koehler. (Monaci, 1927) pp. 77-8.

Non enim dicit: "age, ite, sed videte etiam atque etiam, ne una cum zizaniis etiam triticum evellatis," sed omnino vetat ire vultque tam zizania quam triticum crescere usque ad messem.

The arguments of Castello and Acontius were summed up by Minus Celsus *De Haereticis capitali supplicio non afficiendis*. 1584. pp. 27b-40.

<sup>68</sup> Paul Wappler, *Die Stellung Kursachsens und des Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen zur Täuferbewegung*. pp. 233-4.

Diese spruch liegen vns dermassen jm wege, das wir jn vnsern Gewiessen nit wol fienden mogen, wie gegen einem menschen, so jm glauben ctwas jrrig ist, so scharpf solt gefaren werden, dann es mocht sich ein mensch vber nacht vnderichten vnd weysen lassen vnd wieder von seinem jrthumb abtreten. Solt nhun derselbig so gestracks von vns zum dodt verurteilt werden, sorgen wir warlich, wir mochten seins bluts nicht vnschuldig sein.

<sup>69</sup> *Der Widertöufferen ursprung/ fürgang/ Secten/ wäsen/ fürneme und gemeine jrer Artickel/* (Zürich 1560) p. 184b. The Anabaptists say das unkrut bedütet die kinder des bösen/ oder falsche lerer/ und der Herr heiter gebotten hat/ lassends beyde mit einanderen wachsen/ so sol ye die Oberkeit das unkrut mit straffen oder töden nit ussritten. Cf. 233-34b.

<sup>70</sup> Van't Kruys Christ.

*Opera Omnia Theologica* (Amsterdam 1681), pp. 149-50. Zijn nu onse vervolgers Christenen gelijk sy meenen/ ende des Heeren Woordt voor recht houden/ waerom en hooren en volgen sy dan Christus Woordt ende Gebodt niet? waerom plucken sy dat uyt voor den tijdt Waerom en vreessen sy niet dat sy de Terwe plucken sullen/ ende niet dat onkrut? waerom treden sy in der Engelen dienst? cf. p. 304b.

David Joris introduces the characteristic teaching of the mystic and spiritual reformers that the spiritual man is alone competent to judge of spiritual things. "Because God is a spirit and his operation is inward, he does not desire in these last days that any one, even though he be his servant, should judge in matters of belief and pass sentence and weed out before the harvest. . . . Better to die a thousand deaths than to destroy one faithful Christian or righteous soul. If any one objects that Christian and righteous hearts are not killed, but heretics, false leaders, etc., then I say in the end it will be manifest whether the Scripture has not been strikingly fulfilled here as elsewhere, in that upright hearts, like Christ in the world, have been put to death as heretics and perverters, even as knaves and evil doers. . . . But God wishes that the tares be left. . . . God alone judges in the spirit over the soul and life. Men judge of the body only."<sup>71</sup>

Some of the chiliasts of the Reformation completed the cycle and discovered in the parable not merely permission, but direct warrant for the extermination of the ungodly on the ground that the time of the harvest is now at hand. So Thomas Münzer cried that the evil doers should be suffered to live no longer. "The tares must be rooted out of the vineyard of the Lord in the time of the harvest. Then the fair red wheat will take firm root."<sup>72</sup> Münzer's wheat seems to be turning into wine. On one point, however, he

<sup>71</sup> *T'Wonder-boeck* (1551) pt. 2, chap. XCJJJ, fol. 121a-22a.

Want Godt dan een Gheest is/ sijn werckinge nv inwendich heeft/ heeft hy in desen laetsten Daghen niet ghewilt/ dat yemandt (of sy schoon syne Dienaers sijn) in dese sijns Gheloofs saken richten/ veroordelen/ verderuen/ oft yet wtroeden solden/ voor den tijt des Oogstes . . . lieuer duysent dooden daerom te steruen unde alles te verliesen datmen gehebben mocht/ dan een ghelooouich Christen oder gerechtighe Ziel om te brengen. Secht yemant: men brengt geen Christen oder Gherechtighe herten om/ maer ketters unde valsche Verleyders/ Schelmen unde Booswichten. So antwoord' Ic: Dat wert sich aent eynde wel bevinden/ of die Schrift in desen/ als in alle t'andere niet mercklijck vervult/ alle Oprechte van herten mit Christo in die Werlt ghelijck Ketters unde Verleyders/ Ja als die meeste Schlemen unde Oeueldaders niet ombracht werden/ . . . . Alsoo oordeeldt alleen Godt inden Gheest ouer Ziel unde Lijf/ maer die mensche alleen ouer t'Lijf.

Cf. tract 20 (according to the notation of Van der Linde, *David Joris* ('s Gravenhage, 1867) Van de gerechte ware Zion, cap. III, translated in Gottfried Arnold's *Kirchen und Ketzer-Historie*. (Frankfort a. M. 1715) II, 649a.

Tract 194, Een suuerlycke bewysreden. Aijj verso.

Tract 139, Een droeuich Suchten p. 55.

Cf. also the testimony of one of the Anabaptist martyrs in *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* (Hague 1904) II, p. 304.

<sup>72</sup> Cited by Joachim Zimmermann, *Thomas Münzer* (Berlin 1925), pp. 107-8. Man muss das Unkraut ausraufen aus dem Weingarten Gottes in der Zeit der Ernte, dann wird der schöne rote Weizen beständig Wurzeln gewinnen und recht aufgehn.

is still clear, that the time of the harvest is come.<sup>73</sup> Likewise Bernhard Rothmann reminded his readers that in the time of the Restitution, which is at hand, the Son of Man will send his angels to bind up all that is offensive in his kingdom.<sup>74</sup> Again Matthys at Münster is represented as crying to the "ungodly," "Begone, you impious one and never return, flee, you enemy of the Father. . . . The field of the Father is to be purged, the tare to be eradicated root and branch lest it oppress the good seed."<sup>75</sup>

If one may venture another interpretation, perhaps the tares might be identified with overly ingenious exegetes.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. p. 130.

<sup>74</sup> Restitution rechter und gesunder christlicher Lehre. *Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*. No. 77 u. 78. *Flugschriften aus der Reformationszeit*. VII. p. 99. Also salt ock sin in der vullenbrenginge dusser werltdt, des menschen sone werdt senden sine baden unde se werden sam-melenn uth sinen rike alle ergernisse, und alle de dar unrecht doen, und werden se werpen in einen vürauen.

<sup>75</sup> *Hermanni a Kerssenbroch Anabaptistici Furoris . . . Narratio*. hrsg. von. H. Detmer. *Die Geschichtsquellen des Bisthums Münster* sechster Bd. zweite Hälfte. (Münster 1889). p. 536.

"Apage te hinc, impie, nunquam rediture, effuge, inimice et, hostis Patris, Recede, omnis boni perturbator! Secerne te a bonis! Purganda est Patris area, lolium stirpitus eradicandum est, ne segetem bonam opprimat.

THE REV. THOMAS BRADBURY CHANDLER  
IN THE LIGHT OF HIS (UNPUBLISHED)  
DIARY, 1775-85

FRANK GAVIN

The General Theological Seminary, New York City

No ecclesiastical body in this country suffered as much from the Revolution as did the Anglican Church. The process of recovery was so slow that it was scarcely consummated a century after. In the light of the peculiar importance attaching to the epoch 1775-1785, the Diary of one of the most eminent Anglican clergy of Colonial days may not be without interest. It is a small, thick volume bound in contemporary leather, in the author's own clear and tidy hand, with the fly-leaves covered with financial items—a kind of book-keeping appendix to the Diary proper.<sup>1</sup> The Diary is entitled "Memorandums of T. B. Chandler."

The author was the son of a farmer, born at Woodstock, Connecticut, April 26, 1726. During his college days at Yale (he graduated in 1745) he became a member of the Church of England, following the footsteps of an eminent group of New England converts, beginning with Timothy Cutler, Samuel Johnson, and their friends. At the Commencement in 1748 he received his Master's degree, at which time Samuel Seabury and William Samuel Johnson graduated. Three years later he went to England for Ordination, bearing with him sundry communications on a matter which was to prove one of his chief interests for years to come: the endeavor to secure an American Episcopate.<sup>2</sup> In succession to the Rev. Edward Vaughan (†1747) he became a mission priest in New Jersey, with his headquarters at Elizabethtown. The long pastorate of thirty-eight years which both men achieved carries the history of the local church back to the beginning of the century

<sup>1</sup> The pages of this manuscript are 10 by 16 cm., and number 171 in all. Beginning with the second page of the Diary they are numbered consecutively to 146. At the end there are three unnumbered, blank pages followed by 17 (unnumbered) pages of notes, chiefly financial memoranda. The inside of the cover is also filled with such notations. The cover is somewhat larger than the size of the paper pages, being 10.25 by 16.5 cm.

<sup>2</sup> E. E. Beardsley, *The History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut*, Boston, 1883, I, p. 159.

and its inception by Brooke, Keith, and Talbot. Chandler remained in this cure until his death (in 1790).

We are badly in need of an adequate biography of Chandler.<sup>3</sup> A cleric who has been described as "one of the foremost men among the American clergy,"<sup>4</sup> of whom Bp. Coleman writes that "no priest of this period made a deeper impression upon the Church,"<sup>5</sup> who numbered among his intimate friends Seabury, the first American Bishop, Inglis, the first Bishop of Nova Scotia, and Samuel Johnson, whose literary executor he was,<sup>6</sup> has deserved better attention than he has received. Like his senior contemporary, Johnson (to whom the great lexicographer wrote so felicitously),<sup>7</sup> and the other members of the group, Chandler shared a deep and passionate loyalty to strong "Church" principles. He belonged emphatically to the New England school of churchmanship, and it is small wonder that along with their ecclesiastical convictions men of this type shared emphatically loyalist political opinions. Those who were working toward American independence regarded them as dangerous, and their convictions as hostile to the desires of the patriots. Despite his political views, Chandler could and did write warmly to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, expressing forcibly his convictions as to the unwisdom of the Stamp Act: "Every friend . . . to the happiness of the Colonies or even of Great Britain, who is acquainted with the case as it really is, must wish that Parliament would relax its severity; which yet, it must be confessed, will be no easy thing after such provocations as have been lately offered on the part of the colonies." . . . "If Parliament were resolved to enforce the hated Act, disaffection of the Colonies . . . will undoubtedly be established, the Government must be put to a great expense, and the commerce of the Colonies, so beneficial to England heretofore, will sink comparatively to a mere trifle."<sup>8</sup> This same year Chandler received an honorary Doctorate from Oxford, a much coveted and none too common distinction. In May we find

<sup>3</sup> There is a sketch of his life in W. B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Episcopal Pulpit*, N. Y., 1859, pp. 137-142, and a more extended note by the Rev. J. Hooper, in *The Church Eclectic* for July, 1890 (XVIII:4), pp. 289-303.

<sup>4</sup> Perry, *A History of the American Episcopal Church*, Boston, 1885, I, p. 168.

<sup>5</sup> *The Church in America*, N. Y., 1895, pp. 48-49.

<sup>6</sup> Chandler completed his very hasty work in 1772, but it did not see the light until his son-in-law, Bp. Hobart, published it in 1805.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted by Coppée, in Perry, *op. cit.*, II, p. 607.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted by Beardsley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 244.



him energetically coöperating in the organization of the "Convention of the Clergy of the Province of New York" "assisted by some of their brethren from New Jersey and Connecticut."<sup>9</sup> The letter of the Secretary (the Rev. Samuel Seabury) to the S. P. G., reporting the fact, strongly urges the necessity of an American Episcopate (May 22, 1766).

To Chandler this project was a matter of consuming importance and interest. In every way he urged it, betraying considerable irritation at having Parliament consulted about it, as one of his letters<sup>10</sup> shows, both privately and, in 1767, publicly in his well-known *Appeal to the Public in Behalf of the Church of England in America* (N. Y.). Within six months this rather mild and irenical essay drew down a storm; violent attacks came upon it in New York (from William Livingston, under the name of "American Whig" in the *Gazette*), in Philadelphia (from the "Sentinel"), and from Boston, where Dr. Chauncy published a substantial counterblast, *The Appeal Answered* (1768). To this pamphlet campaign Chandler contributed *The Appeal Defended* (1769) and *The Appeal Farther Defended* (1771).<sup>11</sup> Perhaps the group so ardently desirous of securing the Episcopate for the first time realized the deep hostility and widespread suspicion their cherished hope aroused in others: the plan was inevitably bound up with political matters, and the strenuous advocates for the measure became doubly suspect. At the outset of the publicity campaign Chandler had again spoken his mind, taking issue with the Bishop of Gloucester's sermon before the Society (of 1766). His letter "containing some animated and just strictures" upon it was ordered by the American Board, after it had been read before them, to be forwarded "as soon as possible, in its present shape."<sup>12</sup> Seabury, Chandler, and Inglis entered "into an agreement to watch all publications" which were actively hostile or subversive to the cause of both state and Church, and "so to obviate the evil influences of such as appear to have a bad tendency, by the speediest answers."<sup>13</sup> In conjunction with these friends and others Chandler

<sup>9</sup> Cf. W. J. Seabury, *Memoir of Bishop Seabury*, N. Y., 1908, pp. 78-79; Perry, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 415-416.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Beardsley, I, p. 254.

<sup>11</sup> For a not altogether sympathetic account of the controversy, see A. L. Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies*, N. Y., 1902, pp. 162 ff., and *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> Seabury, *op. cit.*, p. 80; the date was January 21, 1767.

<sup>13</sup> From Bp. Seabury's "Memorial to the Commissioners of the Treasury" of Oct. 20, 1783, in Seabury, *op. cit.*, p. 136; cf. Perry, *op. cit.*, I, p. 453; Shea, *Alex. Hamilton*, pp. 294-296.

was engaged in the organization of "The Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen in Communion of the Church of England in America" (October 3, 1769).<sup>14</sup> This society was soundly organized, financed, and administered, and did gallant service before the Revolution; since 1806, when it was reorganized, it has continued to this day. In 1771 Dr. Myles Cooper, after 1762 President of King's College in succession to Samuel Johnson, D. D., was sent "as a Missionary from us in order to convert the guardians of the Church from the error of their ways. I think," writes Chandler, "our sending missionaries among them almost as necessary as their sending missionaries to America."<sup>15</sup> The felt need of urgency in the matter of the Episcopate, and the vital necessity of a true knowledge of actual conditions on the part of the leaders of the Society, animated the mission.

Within a few years came the Revolution, throwing the Anglican Church and clergy into appalling confusion. On the whole, the S. P. G. missionaries remained loyal to England, which entailed much difficulty, perplexity, and suffering upon them. In the South, where the Establishment was an onerous and burdensome fact, the clergy possessed an assured economic and social position, and a vested interest in their immediate and local loyalties. Virginia claimed more than a third of the total number of Colonial clergy, and a majority of them threw in their lot with the patriots; in South Carolina, of the twenty clergy but five espoused the English cause,<sup>16</sup> and a considerable number of other clergy from the South played a significant part in the Revolution. In Pennsylvania the city clergy were mostly on the side of the Colonists. It was both good policy and astute political wisdom for Samuel Adams to invite Jacob Duché of Philadelphia to open the Philadelphia Congress with prayer.<sup>17</sup> Dr. Wm. Smith preached a patriotic sermon on June 23, 1775, before a congregation consisting of a battalion of volunteer militia, members of Congress, and a "vast concourse of people."<sup>18</sup> A week later six representative clergy wrote to England a letter of explanation and vindication of their attitude.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> See Wallace's history, in Perry, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 647 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Letter to Dr. Johnson, of Stratford, Ct.; quoted by Beardsley, *op. cit.*, I, p. 261.

<sup>16</sup> Dalcho, *History of the Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, p. 206.

<sup>17</sup> Dr. Joseph Warren's letter to the *Boston Gazette*, Sept. 24, 1774, quoting Adams' letter of Sept. 9 to him.

<sup>18</sup> *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D. D.*, I, p. 507.

<sup>19</sup> Perry, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 454-455; see below, *Diary* s. d. Sept. 1, 1775.

In New York and New England, however, the Seabury-Inglis-Chandler group had made so effective a campaign for loyalty to England, that the clergy, particularly the missionaries of the Society, remained outside the movement for independence. Seabury's anonymous pamphlets<sup>20</sup> exercised great influence, and are interesting to us for two reasons: they were issued at the press of the Royal Printer, James Livingston, who appears later in Chandler's Diary,<sup>21</sup> and they were answered by the maiden efforts of a young undergraduate of King's college, Alexander Hamilton. In Dr. Inglis' long letter to the Secretary of the S. P. G. of Oct. 31, 1776,<sup>22</sup> he says: "All the Society's Missionaries, without excepting one, in New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and . . . the other New England Colonies, have proved themselves faithful, loyal subjects in these trying times." "The venerable Mr. Beach of Connecticut" continued to hold services and to pray for the King; upon "being warned of his danger, he declared . . . : 'That he would do his duty, preach and pray for the King till the rebels cut out his tongue.'" In this same letter we also learn that "Dr. Chandler and Dr. Cooper . . . were both obliged to fly from hence and seek protection in England." At this point the Diary begins.

"Monday, May 15, 1775.

"Having been often threatened by the Sons of Liberty, for having been supposed to have written on the Side of Government, and having received intimation from my friends that I was in much personal danger, I went to New York, taking some articles of necessary apparel with me, that might serve, in Case I should not be able to return.<sup>23</sup> On coming to New-York, I found every Thing in the utmost Confusion, and the Friends of Government under the severest Persecution; I therefore lodged at Mr. Kempe's,<sup>24</sup> the Attorney General, as a Place unsuspected, and less liable to Insults, than where I commonly used to lodge in the City.

"Tuesday, May 16th.

"I found that the turbulent Faction, which had assumed the Government of the City, were making Enquiries after me, and determined to

<sup>20</sup> Cf. W. J. Seabury, *op. cit.*, chapters X-XI (pp. 130 ff.).

<sup>21</sup> See below, pp.

<sup>22</sup> Given in Perry, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 458-464.

<sup>23</sup> He had been living at Elizabethtown, where Mrs. Chandler and the children continued to remain during his long absence.

<sup>24</sup> John Tabor Kempe, vestryman of Trinity Church, N. Y., 1769-1778, warden 1779-1783 (cf. Morgan Dix, *History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York*, N. Y., IV, p. 577). He was also active in the Relief Corporation, and had helped design the official seal (cf. Perry, *op. cit.*, I, p. 659).

pay me a visit; I therefore ventured abroad but little, and cautiously, and it was recommended to me by my friends to secure a Passage for England. In the Evening I contracted with Capt. Joseph Winder for a Passage to Bristol in the Ship *Exeter*, and staid that Night at Mr. Kempe's.

"Wednesday, May 17th.

"Kept close at Mr. Kempe's; but having received a polite invitation from Capt. James Montagu, who understood my Situation, I went on board his Majesty's Ship *King-Fisher*, as the only Place of Safety near New-York, Mr. Wetherhead assisting me in my Embarkation.

"Friday, May 19th.

"In Expectation of meeting the Packet from England, and with a Design to secure the Mail, Capt. Montagu sailed to Sandy-Hook, with a Post-Master General on board, besides Dr. Cooper, and Mr. Rivington, who, as well as myself, were proscribed for the Loyalty.

"Saturday, May 20th.

"Our Ship, the *Exeter*, came down to the Hook, and Dr. Cooper and I shifted our lodgings to the *Exeter* to be ready for our voyage; there we were kindly received by our friends Mr. Cook and Capt. Kearny, who were to be our Fellow-Passengers.

"Thursday, May 25th (Ascension Day).

"Having waited till this Time for a proper Wind, we put to Sea in the Morning, turning out with a Head Wind, in Company with more than 20 vessels, most of which were bound to European Ports. We saw the *Asia*, of 64 Guns, from Boston, go in to the Hook, and come to an Anchor. At Evening the Land appeared to be distant about 6 Leagues.

"Saturday, June 10th.

"For the first 10 Days the Weather was generally very fine, the Winds light but in our Favor; from that Time, the Weather has been rough, and either rainy or foggy. This Day, supposing ourselves to be on the Grand Bank, we sounded and found 36 Fathoms. We attempted to fish, but the Sea ran too high. Towards Evening passed, at about the Distance of a League, a large Island of Ice, by which Time we experienced the Weather to be almost intolerably cold.

"Saturday, June 24th.

"For a Fortnight past, the Winds and Seas have commonly been high for the Season, and the Weather cold and misty. This Day we threw the Lead, hoping to find ourselves off the Coasts of Ireland, but were disappointed, owing chiefly, as we afterwards judged, to the bad Steerage of the Ship.

"Wednesday, June 28th.

"Having sounded for four Days past to no Purpose, this Day we found Bottom in 65 Fathoms, some of our People having seen, as they supposed, *Cape Clear* in the Morning, at the Distance of about Ten Leagues on our Larboard Quarter.

"Friday, June 30th.

"At 4 in the morning we had a sight of Lundy at a great Distance right ahead. At about 10 took a Pilot on Board; but the Winds being



light, we were only able by the Evening to get up between Lundy and Hartland Point, where we anchored to save the Tide.

"Saturday, July 1st.

"Weighed Anchor early in the Morning to take Advantage of the Tide, the Weather being calm. Off of Barnstaple Bay we saw near us on the Water, a large *Tortoise* of the Loggerhead Kind, a Sight unexampled in the Bristol Channel. By Noon the Wind freshened and was become fair. We ran up the Channel within about a Mile of the Devonshire Coast, towards Evening stretched over towards the Welsh Coast, and before dark got through the Two *Holms*.

"Sunday, July 2nd.

"Having had a blustering and stormy Night against Tide, but with a fair Wind, having constantly used our Lead, at 4 in the Morning we had the Pleasure of coming to an Anchor in Kingroad; from whence we immediately went up by Water to Bristol where we breakfasted at the White-Hart Inn. I attended Service at St. Stephen's Church, hoping to find there the Rector, my friend Dr. Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, but he was not in Town. I attended the Evening Service at the Cathedral, and afterwards waited upon Mr. Cruger.

"Monday, July 3d.

"Visited the Curiosities of the City, particularly a Glass House and Redcliff Church, which is said to have been built by a Private Person, whose Name is Canings, and which was finished, as its Inscriptions shew, Anno 1474. Dined with Mr. Hays.

"Tuesday, July 4th.

"Waited upon Sir W. Draper at Clifton, from thence went to the Hot-Wells; dined with Mr. Mallard, Mr. Cruger's Partner, and after Dinner, with an agreeable Company, in 3 Carriages went to King's-Weston, in Sight of Kingroad, where we visited the charming Seat of Edw: Southwell, Esqre., Member of Parliament for the County of Gloucester, whose Fortune is £11,000 pr. Annum.

"Wednesday, July 5th.

"After dining with Capt. Chambers, Dr. Cooper and I went to Bath in a Coach, where we visited the Wells, the public Rooms, the Queen's Square, the Circus, the Crescent, &c., and were charmed with the Grandeur and Elegance that appeared on all sides. Mr. Milsom, a Gentleman of Property in Bath, who had been our Fellow-Passenger in the Coach from Bristol, kindly performed the office of a Guide to us through the magnificent Labyrinths of the City. We had a distant View of Prior Park, the Seat of the late Mr. Allen, but now of Bishop Warburton, but had not Time to visit it. We were told that the Business of the Quarry is at present in a neglected State.

"Thursday, July 6th.

"Dr. Cooper and I set out in the Morning for London, in one of the new Carriages called a *Diligence*, and passing through the Towns of the *Devizes*, Marlborough, Newbury, Reading, Maidenhead, &c., and by many fine Seats, particularly Lord Molesworth's, Clifden House, belonging to the Earl of Inchiquin, &c., we arrived in the Evening at Mr. Var-



dill's<sup>25</sup> in Margaret Street Cavendish Square, where lodgings were provided for us, after a Days Journey of more than 107 Miles."

After nearly eight weeks on the ocean, Dr. Chandler had enough energy to engage in a round of visits and sight-seeing tours. Immediately upon his arrival in the City he went (on the 7th) to the New-York Coffee-House to receive his American mail, and the next day, losing no time, waited upon the Archbishop. The Diary is a peculiarly human document; Chandler's avid interest, often patently naïve, prompts the inclusion of such disparate and curious facts as the following: an epitaph in the churchyard of St. Pancras Wells, the record of a meeting with the Solicitor-General in company with other exiled Americans—Cooper and Vardill among them—at which the interesting economic principle was ventilated that "in the Nature of Things, no distant Colonies can be taxed as high as those Subjects who are near the Seat of Government must be" (July 10), calls on the Secretary of the Treasury and on the Secretary of the Board of Trade, and on Lord North. Of the latter's opinion on current affairs he reports: "His Lordship seems firmly resolved to support the Sovereignty of the Nation, yet sorry to be obliged to exert the national Strength, and desirous of seeing the Dispute honorably compromised" (July 14). Within one week he has performed his duty calls, met and talked with many important people in the Government, and supplied them with authentic information about the actual conditions in America. This rather strenuous and characteristically American program of incessant energy and "hustle" is further illustrated by a quaint touch in his entry of Sunday, July 16th: "This day viewed the Congregations, and heard the whole or Part of the Service in Seven Churches"!

Gov. Hutchinson, of whom we are to hear much as the Diary proceeds, calls on him on the 15th in company with Sir Francis Bernard. The demands of social life now suggest the wisdom of some purchases: a silver watch, and watch-chain, a gown, cassock, sash, and scarf. Theatres, dinner-parties, "seeing the sights" (the British Museum among others), another visit to the Archbishop, intense interest (typically American!) in gathering statistics ("two thousand coaches set out from London every Monday"), and calls given and returned, crowd these pages of the Diary. An

<sup>25</sup> The Rev. John Vardill, called while in England to be Assistant at Trinity, N. Y. (Dec. 6, 1774), and two days later, appointed by the King as Professor of Divinity at King's College, but he "never entered upon the duties of his office" (Berrian, *Historical Sketch of Trinity Church*, N. Y., 1847, p. 136). Cf. Dix, *History of Trinity Church*, I, pp. 363-365.

interesting side-light on London conditions is afforded by the note that twice in a period of five days' time he had his pocket picked, though, as the Diary records, he was on his guard the second time.<sup>28</sup> A varied and delightful experience it all becomes to the ecclesiastical exile, who throughout shows himself characteristically the American abroad.

Never does he forget America and her needs (particularly with regard to the Church) nor his chief preoccupation—the problem of the Episcopate. Possibly by way of correcting his own previous impression of its magnitude he writes: "The American Commerce on a fair calculation, affords Employment for the British Manufacturers for no more than 16 Days in the Year" (August 2). Two days later he is again with the Archbishop, and the entries following comprise a riot of discordant impressions: a female church-organist; a huge flock of geese; an ichneumon from Egypt ("the only one in England"); a cork-tree in the garden of the Bishop of London, and the like. On August 12-28 he is in Oxford, where he attends services, dines in Hall, sees the sights, and hears a concert at which one of the Sharps "played on an Instrument called the *Serpent*, the only one in the Kingdom, and with the Improvements he has given it, the only one in the World" while another of the same distinguished family, Granville, "the Writer in Favour of the Americans, played a Solo on two German Flutes at the same Time" (August 21). He saw Kennicott's Hebrew Bible on the way to completion, was much intrigued by the latest improved telescopes (the cost of which he sets down), and then returns to London.

On the last day of August Chandler and Wilkins "talked over a Plan for persuading the Government, if possible, to make such proposals to the Americans as they can consistently with their Principles accept of. Mr. W. to prepare a Scheme of Proposals." The next day echoes of Dr. Smith's sermon in far-off Philadelphia and of the "conduct of the Philadelphia Clergy," reach Chandler through a member of the Society. "The above Member was zealous for stopping immediately Dr. Smith's Salary. Dined with Mr. Blackburne in the City, whose Opinion it is that 50 Millions Sterling could be raised for carrying on the American War next Year, should that prove necessary" (Sept. 1, 1775). On the day follow-

<sup>28</sup> On March 1, 1776, he lost his new watch to a pickpocket, after Church, and going to lodge information, description, and complaint, found another gentleman—one of those who had taken up the collection at the same service—there on the same errand.

ing he saw the original Patent "made out . . . for an American Episcopate in the Reign of Charles the II."

Like other travelling Americans whose imaginations people the occasions when world-famous Lectures are delivered, with vast throngs proportionate to the dignity of the Lectures, he was much surprised

"that though this (*Boylean*) Lecture has commonly produced the most learned Defences of Revelation in Christendom, yet but few People attended it, and not one Clergyman except the Curate of the Parish, who read Prayers. The Length of the Sermon was exactly Half an Hour" (Sept. 4).

On the 6th—the first of many such entries to come—he "continued at home to write Letters to my American Friends by the Packet." He soon begins to develop intimate relations with members of the Society from whom he obtained some of the details as to clerical stipends current in England that are noted on Sept. 9.

On October 4, while he "was writing Letters to America, a man genteelly dressed came . . . to inquire for Lodgings." When asked what his occupation was, he replied that his business was "to write for the Americans." The master of the house, however, recognized him as an "Infamous Character," and Chandler is led to moralize: "Such are the Wretches that are employed to write for a wretched Party." Three days later he dines with some "Gentlemen who have lately fled from Boston," when he doubtless received the latest news. Within a short time the inevitable London fog comes into the narrative:

"Thursday, November 23d. A yellow Fog, the second I have seen of the Kind, which was attended with such Darkness, in the Middle of the Day between 12 and 1 o'clock, that I could not see to read large and fair Print at all unless within a Foot of the Window, which faces a large open Street. This Degree of Darkness continued about Half an Hour."

He seems also to have been much interested in various kinds of pears, which he names and describes. On December 3, after service at the "King's Chappel" "went to Lord Spencer's with Dr. Poyntz, his Lordship's Chaplain, and Chocolate"—a quaint combination!

That America is uppermost in his mind is clear from his record of a consultation, to which he was invited, to discuss with the Archbishop and a number of other prelates "about a proper method of assisting the American Clergy in their present distresses; when it was agreed to remit from the Society the Salaries of such Missionaries as appear to have no opportunity to draw either upon New-York or Boston; and it was also declared by the Archbishop,

that a subscription shall be opened for their farther relief. Dr. Cooper and I to prepare and deliver in a Paper to His Grace on this Subject, some time before the meeting of the Society next week." This occurred on December 7, 1775, and by April 6 of the next year over £2000 had been collected, and ordered "to be distributed to such Persons, and in such Proportion, as I recommended to their Lordships." The administration of this Fund, and the incidental tasks it entailed must have occupied an unusually large share of his time, energy, and effort, for his Diary is full of details relative to this work.

On January 30, "this being the Day of the Martyrdom of King Charles, I went to the W(estminster) Abbey" (which same entry appears the year following). To those of Chandler's ecclesiastical views, the "Royal Martyr" was both a beloved and venerated figure. The American Episcopate comes up after a period of silence on the subject, on February 10: the Archbishop of York tells him that

"in the year 1764, Dr. Wishart, one of the principal Clergy in Edinburgh, assured his Grace that he could see no reasonable objections against the American Episcopate proposed, and that he did not believe any of the Scottish Clergy of any Eminence would disapprove of such an Appointment."

Occasionally news from the American front reaches him: a letter reporting Gen. Howe's capture of Staten Island (of July 8) reaches him in August, and one telling of his taking possession of Long Island comes to hand on October 10. His son, who had arrived from Jamaica on August 9, set off for America on October 19 to join the Loyalist Forces.

Early in the year 1777 he approached the Bishop of London requesting him to "use his interest for the Appointment of Dr. Auchmuty to the Chaplaincy of the Garrison of New-York" (Jan. 4). Dr. Auchmuty was Rector of Trinity Church, and upon the American occupation in 1775 had fled to New Brunswick. In the fall of 1776 he returned, but worn out in health and spirits, died on March 4, 1777.<sup>27</sup> Two weeks later Dr. Chandler prepares to launch another campaign looking toward the securing of a Bishop for America. This time he asks the Bishop of Bangor's aid to "move that a Committee be appointed to prepare an Account of the Attempts that have been formerly made . . . and of the Reasons of the Failure." On March 8 he secures £50 "out of the Fund for re-

<sup>27</sup> Cf. the letter of his Assistant and successor, Dr. Inglis, of Oct. 31, 1776, to the S. P. G., in Perry, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 458-464.



lieving the American Clergy for the Rev. Mr. Housell, Lutheran Minister in New-York." Bp. Lowth's promotion to the See of London delighted him, "and is looked upon as the happiest Omen to the Church in America."

At Hebron, Connecticut, there had been a noisy and obstreperous cleric, entirely too tactless in his open defence of the British cause, who had made himself much disliked by the patriots. He was a missionary of the Society. In September he had been warned, and then mobbed, and in his vestments forced to sign a confession, jeered at by all the crowd on the green. After this experience he fled to Boston, and then in the autumn went to England. About him and the Archbishop, Chandler tells the following

"Anecdote of Abp. Secker.

"When Mr. Peters, from Hebron in Connecticut, waited on his Grace with his Letters on his first Arrival in England, on seeing him enter the Room with 2 Servants bearing his Train &c., Peters was overwhelmed with such an Awe, that he was unable to speak, so much as to answer any common Question. The Archbishop observing his Confusion, seated him in a Chair by his Side and spoke to him Words to this effect: 'Mr. P., you have come from New England, and, I suppose, you look upon an Archbishop to be something more than human; but I am as much a mortal Creature as yourself, and you have no Reason to be awed at my Presence,'—putting his Hand on Peters' Knee at the same Time, in the most familiar Manner, and even patting his Cheek. This Kindness and Condescension had the intended Effect; Mr. P. soon recovered the Use of his Tongue and his Senses; and ever afterwards conversed with his Grace with great Ease and Freedom. Some time after Mr. P. was taken dangerously ill of the Small Pox, when his Grace visited him repeatedly in Person, and frequently sent to inquire how he did; he also ordered his own Physician, Dr. Dixon, to attend him, and paid him for his Attendance 75 Guineas" (Under the date of April 11)

A letter from Dr. Inglis of April 2, 1777, introduced again the subject of the American Episcopate before the Society on May 16. In the light of what had preceded it, Chandler succeeded in having a competent Committee of thirteen appointed to deal with Dr. Cooper, Mr. Vardill and himself, nominated from and authorized by the Americans. The next Anniversary Meeting of the Society (Feb. 20, 1778) is of interest for the following reason:

"At the Vestry Room, a long Letter from Dr. S. to the Archbishop, as President, was read, in which the Doctor endeavored to excuse his Conduct, and solicited a Continuance of the Society's Favours, without taking Notice of their having already discarded him, of which however he must have been informed. Upon this, the Bishop of Oxford observed that after what had passed, such an Application was an Insult upon the Society, and as *such* should be treated. Several

others made similar Remarks, and nothing was offered in the Doctor's Vindication. N. B. The Doctor took no notice of his *Oration*, but mentioned his *Sermon*, without disclaiming the Sentiments therein advanced, or allowing that he had been wrong in any Part of his Conduct."

This "Dr. S." is undoubtedly Dr. Wm. Smith, of Philadelphia, who may have been moved by the example of other clergy—notably Duché—to reconsider his fervent declarations of loyalty to the cause of the patriots. There were other clergy in Philadelphia who regretted their too hasty allegiance to the revolutionary side, and subsequently, like Duché, lived to regret such regrets. Due to Chandler's efforts in their behalf, his two great friends were admitted to the same distinguished honor which Oxford had conferred upon him: on April 10, together with other letters, he "delivered to Capt. Cooper the Diplomas for Dr. Seabury and Dr. Inglis."

Early in 1779 he obtained from the Bishop of London (since Laud's day, the "Ordinary" for America) an informal permission for the clergy of Connecticut to omit the Prayers for the King and the Royal Family in the Liturgy. Among the sixteen letters sent on April 7 was one to Governor Franklin (to whom he writes again on May 3), with whom Chandler had had occasion to have numerous dealings. That the activities of American privateers were becoming effective is shown by such a marginal notation as that under June 2: "This Packet was taken."<sup>28</sup> Mail deliveries were more and more irregular: on October 16, he writes:

"This Day received Letters from my family and from New-York; having not before had a Line from them since July 12th. A most tedious Interval!"

The early part of the Diary is much fuller than the latter. In fact, entries for the first two years of his ten-year sojourn in England constitute about one-half the bulk of the whole volume. From 1780 to the end the notices are very brief indeed, recording chiefly letters written and received, and moneys paid out in his capacity as administrator of the Society's Relief Fund, together with other financial transactions thus involved (such as investments made for the beneficiaries and the like). His exile was in no sense a holiday, and it is not until July 24, 1780, that he seems to have felt free for a little relaxation, when he started off for Portsmouth and Cowes where he "decided to spend the Season" (Aug. 16). His devotion to the memory of the Royal Martyr appears

<sup>28</sup> Notices to the same effect appear under Jan. 5, 1780; June 7, 1780; Sept. 3, 1781.

again when he visits Carisbrook Castle; it moved him deeply to realize

"That this is the Place where the Royal Martyr, King Charles I, was for a long time confined, before he was removed for execution by Cromwell's Direction."

He returned to London Oct. 8. In April of 1784 he "heard of the death of a beloved Daughter" and on October 22 appears the entry:

"This Day my only Son died at 10 Minutes after 2 o'clock, P. M., after an Illness of 7 Days, in the 29th Year of his Age, having come into the World May 7th, 1756. God's will be done!"

This son is the "Billy" Chandler (Captain in the British Forces in America) to whom he so often wrote, and for whom he had a very deep affection.

Due partly to Chandler's activities, Dr. Seabury had on Nov. 14, 1784, received Consecration at the hand of the Scottish Non-Jurors at Aberdeen. The friendship had begun early in life, and was a steady, constant, and vigorous stimulation to both men. Seabury was one of his regular correspondents: his letter to Dr. Seabury of April 8, 1776, shows how energetically Dr. Chandler had acted in behalf of the American Clergy and how deep a respect he had for Seabury. Letters to the latter, alluded to under the dates Aug. 5, 1782, and March 15, 1783, give us an insight into Chandler's mind: he was highly indignant at the policy of vicious vacillation shown by the Government, and did not at all know his own future plans.<sup>29</sup> Chandler had offers from Dr. Cartwright,<sup>30</sup> an irregular English Non-Juror, then practising medicine at Shrewsbury, to consecrate Seabury for the American Church. In all probability he had an active part in the negotiations which led to his actual consecration by Bp. Skinner. On February 25, 1785, he notes: "Wrote to Bp. Seabury, who is to embark tomorrow for Nova Scotia, in his way to Connecticut," and on April 23 writes of him to Bishop Skinner: "he left the Downs on the 15th of last Month; on the 19th was sixty-five Leagues West of the Lizard with a fair prospect of a good Passage, at which Time he wrote to me."<sup>31</sup> Five days

<sup>29</sup> Cf. W. J. Seabury, *op. cit.*, pp. 143 ff. (foot-note), and 172-177, for the text of these letters.

<sup>30</sup> So Lathbury, *History of the Non-Jurors*, p. 411; cf. Hawks and Perry, *Journals of the General Conventions of the P. E. Church . . . with Illustrative Historical Notes and Appendices*, Philadelphia, 1861, I, p. 602.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. E. E. Beardsley, *Life of Bishop Seabury*, pp. 179 ff.; W. J. Seabury, *op. cit.*, p. 255, and chapters XV-XVII *ibid.*; Hawks & Perry, *op. cit.*, I, p. 615.

after this letter Charles Wesley wrote Chandler the famous letter of sorrowful retrospect and dismal forebodings in regard to Dr. Coke and the American Methodists.<sup>32</sup> This letter reached him as he was preparing to depart, for the week before he had "obtained the Archbishop's Consent to cross the Atlantic on a visit to his Family." His last days in England were spent in rather formidable packing, adjusting various financial matters, and farewell calls. Leaving London May 16 he

"went to Gravesend; the next Day embarked in the *Mentor* for New-York; at Night the Ship waited for the Tide off Reculver, the 18th passing the Downs, without dropping Anchor; on the 24th passing the Lizard; on the 25th took our Departure from the Scylla Islands; and after a disagreeable Passage of 55 Days from Gravesend, we landed at New-York on the 11th of July."

One entry, recording the sending of five letters April 5, 1786, concludes the Diary.

Dr. Chandler came back to America at the exact juncture when his presence was most needed. The re-organization of the erstwhile Church of England into the Protestant Episcopal Church was under way, the pitiful feebleness of its efforts were hampered by uncertainty, suspicions, and discord, and the new organization was thus incapable in its weakness to organize a single-minded policy. So delicate was the situation that only the statesmanship of Bp. White of Philadelphia, his sanity and tactful wisdom, and the loyalty of a few devoted clergy to Anglican principles and ideals, saved the disunited groups of congregations from demoralization and chaos. A stringently "revised" Book of Common Prayer, known as the *Proposed Book* was already in print, though in no sense competently authorized. One group was entirely unwilling to accept Dr. Seabury's consecration as valid, the spokesman for which view was Bishop Provoost of New York. His hostility to Seabury as well as his Latitudinarian principles made Connecticut churchmen fear and suspect him.

Good grounds for their suspicion were at hand in the Preface of the *Proposed Book*, largely the work of Dr. Wm. Smith.<sup>33</sup> Innovating ideals are there stated, despite the words: "It is far from the intention of this Church to depart from the Church of England any farther than local circumstances require,"<sup>34</sup> for this "revision"

<sup>32</sup> Cf. W. J. Seabury, *op. cit.*, pp. 377-381, where it is given.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Hawks & Perry, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 514-518, 535-558; Hoffman, *The Ritual Law of the Church*, N. Y., 1872, pp. 42, 44.

<sup>34</sup> In N. Y. (1873) reissue of the English reprint of the *Proposed Book*, London, 1789, p. xx.



was frankly based on the professed ideals of the discredited and unaccepted Revisers of 1689. It is undoubtedly to this committee that Smith alluded when he wrote: "We were not attempting any *Novel* Reformation or the least Departure from what has been the general sense of the greatest and best men in our Church for a Century past."<sup>35</sup>

Bishop White, in his *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church* quotes in full the *Memorial of the N. J. Convention*,<sup>36</sup> which he was convinced was the work of Dr. Chandler. This view, which had been commonly held, the Rev. Joseph Hooper<sup>37</sup> felt it necessary to challenge, in the interests of truth; but a careful examination of all the evidence does not suggest that it must be surrendered: internal evidence of both Chandler's point of view and style, and the external weight of Bp. White's testimony combine to establish the traditional opinion. The importance of the *Memorial* lies partly in the fact that from its language was compiled the declaration of intention officially pronouncing the mind of the Episcopal Church in 1789. The *Memorial* begs the removal of

"every cause that may have excited any jealousy or fear that the Episcopal Church in the United States of America has any intention or desire essentially to depart, either in doctrine or discipline, from the Church of England."

An examination of the authorized *Preface* of the Standard Book of Common Prayer yields evidence of the conflation of the Smith contribution and the language of the *Memorial*: "In which (comparison with the English Book) it will also appear that this Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline, or worship; or further than local circumstances require." White's estimate of the effect of the *Memorial* is that it was "among the causes which prevented the disorganizing of the American Church."<sup>38</sup> It convinced the Convention "that the result of considerable change would have been the disunion of the Church . . . which contributed to render the proceedings temperate."<sup>39</sup> Hawks and Perry describe it as

"this important document, emanating from perhaps the foremost man in ability and reputation among the American Clergy."<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Letter of February 25, 1786, to Bp. White; Hawks & Perry, I, p. 540.

<sup>36</sup> 2nd edition, N. Y., 1836; Appendix 7, pp. 298-300.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *The Church Eclectic*, 1890, pp. 289-303; 653-655.

<sup>38</sup> White, *ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>39</sup> So Perry, *op. cit.*, II, p. 46.

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, p. 445.

The disease—a scorbutic or cancerous affection of the face—which had prevented his acceptance of the office of Bishop of Nova Scotia, kept Chandler out of more active participation in the work of the Church in America after the Revolution. He conducted nevertheless an immense correspondence, and was by no means the least among those to whom the present Episcopal Church owes its existence. Both during and after the Revolution his Vestry had insisted that he remain the Rector of St. John's, Elizabethtown, though he was incapacitated the last few years of his life. In his death in 1790 the Episcopal Church lost a powerful figure of great charm and personality; a diligent, energetic, and doughty champion for principle, and a loyal and loving servant. Single-handed he had acted as Bursar to the Society's extensive relief measures, he had urged the cause of the American Church at home and abroad, in season and out of season, by word, pen, and action; as father, pastor, priest, and theologian, he exercised a profound and constructive influence upon the Church, before as well as after the Revolution. That no adequate recognition has ever been paid him by the Church would have been much to his heart—for hidden service and an utter absence of self-seeking characterized his life of denial, dedication, and devotion.

## THE CHURCH HISTORY DEPUTATION TO THE ORIENT

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

Divinity School of the University of Chicago

The Managing Editor of CHURCH HISTORY has sent me a peremptory summons demanding at once an account in one thousand words—no more, no less—of the work of the Church History Deputation to the Orient. In view of the probability that a full report will in due time appear as a separate publication, the present statement may quite appropriately be confined within the limits set by the Editor.

Those members of the American Society of Church History who attended the Annual Meeting held in New York during the last week of December, 1930, will recall the stimulating address given at that time by Dr. John R. Mott. He especially emphasized the importance of Church History in the curricula of theological seminaries and other institutions both in the home lands and on the mission fields, where Christian workers are in training for service among the younger churches of the Orient. At Dr. Mott's request the Society appointed a committee to meet him for a conference in his office at 230 Park Avenue to consider possible ways of acquiring more accurate information about, and stimulating larger interest in, the subject that he had presented. The outcome of this conference was a decision to send a Deputation to the Orient to study the subject. Professor W. D. Schermerhorn and I were asked to undertake this task.

Some weeks later when Dr. Mott went to Europe he laid the plan before the Standing Committee of the Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, with the result that they appointed as their representative on the Deputation the Reverend Edmund Robert Morgan, Warden of the College of the Ascension, Selly Oak, Birmingham, and lecturer there in Christian Doctrine and Church History. All three members of the Deputation met in San Francisco on September 11th, 1931, and embarked on the "President Jackson," of the Dollar Steamship Line, for Japan. On the way a brief visit was made at the Hawaii School of Religion in Honolulu, and Yokohama was reached on September 28th. The

further activities of the members of the Deputation, working either jointly or separately, were distributed as follows:

S. J. Case, in Japan, Sept. 28-Nov. 2; in China, Nov. 3-Dec. 5; in the Philippine Islands, Dec. 7-16; in Straits Settlements, Dec. 21-24; in India, Jan. 1-28 and Feb. 8-21; in Burma, Feb. 1-4; in Egypt (Cairo), Mar. 7-9.

W. D. Schermerhorn, in Japan, Sept. 28-Nov. 1; in Korea, Nov. 2-10; in China, Nov. 13-Dec. 13; in the Philippine Islands, Dec. 15 and 16; in Straits Settlements, Dec. 21-24; in India, Jan. 1-Feb. 21; in Egypt (Cairo), Mar. 7-9.

E. R. Morgan, in Japan, Sept. 28-Oct. 30; in Korea, Oct. 31-Nov. 8; in China, Nov. 10-Dec. 6. His duties at home made it necessary for him to forego a visit to India.

In formulating its program the Deputation had decided to seek answers to two main questions, viz. (1) What is being done, and what more can be done, to collect and preserve the original sources of information for the history of the indigenous churches of the Orient; and (2) What place does the study of Church History as a whole now occupy, and what attention should it receive, in the training and equipment of leaders for these churches?

Dr. Mott had arranged beforehand for the work of the Deputation by addressing to the secretaries of the National Christian Council in each of the countries to be visited a letter explaining the purposes of the visitors and asking that specific plans be made for their activities. Everywhere they received a most cordial welcome and were given every possible assistance. Attention was centered chiefly on the theological seminaries and training schools, although much valuable information was obtained in other quarters. Teachers, librarians, students, pastors, and other individuals and groups, displayed keen interest in the cause which the Deputation represented and responded heartily to its appeals. Numerous addresses were delivered by the members of the Deputation, and many personal and group conferences were held. Especially significant were the more formal conferences attended by teachers of Church History and other persons particularly interested in the subject. These were held at Tokyo, Kyoto, Seoul, Shanghai, Manila, Serampore, Rangoon, Bangalore and Ramapatnam. At these gatherings discussion revolved about the following topics:

- (1) How can the sources of information for the history of the indigenous churches best be collected and preserved?

- (2) Would it be wise to encourage a few persons to

specialize in the study and writing of the history of indigenous Christianity?

(3) In the present curriculum how much time is given to Church History, and how does this compare with the time given to other subjects?

(4) Is all of a teacher's time devoted to Church History, and, if not, what other subjects does he teach?

(5) How, in your opinion, can the time allowed for Church History best be used with reference to subject-matter and method of instruction?

(6) What are your school's most immediate library needs?

(7) What service is the study of Church History as a whole rendering to Christianity to-day in your country?

(8) Could this service be improved, and, if so, in what practical way?

(9) How can greater interest in the subject be stimulated?

(10) Are there any regular meetings in your vicinity at which Church History is especially discussed, and, if not, would it seem practicable to attempt to organize such?

(11) Do graduates continue to be interested in Church History after leaving the theological schools?

(12) How can an adequate literature on the subject be produced, especially in the vernaculars?

(13) What are the specific things that need first attention to make the study of Church History more attractive and useful?

Space at present will not permit even an adequate summary of the answers given to these questions, but they were discussed with great candor and keen insight on different occasions, and the lively interest which they awakened is certain to bear much fruit in days to come. When the full report of the Deputation's findings has been made available in print, the members of our American Society of Church History will surely find themselves deeply indebted to their Oriental co-workers for many valuable suggestions and much wise counsel to aid in the improvement of our common task. And this communication must not close without reporting the appreciation so frequently expressed by our fellow-workers in the Orient for the interest which our Society and Dr. Mott manifested in sending this group of friendly seekers to the Far East.

Shirley Jackson Case,

Chairman of the Deputation.



## AMONG THE MEMBERS

Professor D. Shaw Duncan, in addition to being Professor of Church History in the Iliff School of Theology, is Dean of the Graduate School of the University of Denver.

Professor Robert W. Goodloe of the School of Theology of the Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, has been appointed dean of the Pastors' Schools, and is to spend the entire summer quarter in supervising these schools. He has prepared a small volume dealing with the general principles of church government which is to be used as the text for one of the courses.

Professor R. E. E. Harkness of Crozer Theological Seminary has been serving for some time as President of the American Baptist Historical Society. He spoke before the Virginia Baptist General Assembly last November and at the unveiling of a memorial tablet to Reverend John Waller, founder of the oldest Baptist church in Virginia.

Professor K. S. Latourette of Yale is at work on a large volume on *The Chinese; Their History and Culture*. He is also collecting material for *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, a project which will probably require more than a decade to complete.

Dr. Charles S. Macfarland, general secretary emeritus of the Federal Council, is under engagement to write two books; one deals with *Christian Unity in Practice and Prophecy*, an historical and interpretative study, and the other is a history of the Federal Council. He is also engaged to lecture at several European universities next year.

Professor Percy V. Norwood of the Western Theological Seminary of Evanston, Illinois, has just completed his term of office as president of the Chicago Church History Club. He is succeeded by Professor Andrew C. Zenos of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary.

During the present year, Dr. Thomas P. Oakley is engaged in further research on various aspects of the coöperation of mediaeval penance and the secular law. He has almost finished the manuscript of a book dealing with this subject and two of his articles are to appear shortly in *Speculum* and in the *Catholic Historical Review*.

Professor Wilhelm Pauck of the Chicago Theological Seminary has been invited to give the Gates Memorial Lectures at Grinnell College in the first week of February, 1933. The lectures will deal with the historical approach to the subject *The Christian Religion and Social Action*. During the last weeks of August of this year Professor Pauck will participate in the Hazen Conference at Estes Park, Colorado, under the auspices of the World Student Christian Movement and the Y. M. C. A. He will offer six lectures on *The Christian and the Modern Crisis*.

President George W. Richards of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee as well as Chairman of the Committee on Function and Structure of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. In April he read a paper before the American Theological Society in the Union Theological Seminary and was elected president of this Society for the ensuing year. He also de-

livered an address at Richmond, Virginia, before the Western Section of the Alliance of Reformed Churches throughout the World Holding the Presbyterian System, on the *Finality of the Christian Religion*. His article on *Zwingli's Pathway to Certainty* is published in the May number of the *Canadian Journal of Religious Thought*.

Professor Earl Morse Wilbur of the Pacific Unitarian School for the Ministry has secured a Guggenheim Fellowship and has been on sabbatical leave for the past year and is going to be during the ensuing year. He is investigating the history of the Socinian-Unitarian movement and is collecting material regarding the subject in the libraries of Europe, especially in Poland, Transylvania, and Holland. He has in press, soon to appear, a translation of Servetus' *De Trinitatis Erroribus* and *Dialogi de Trinitate*, with introduction, notes, a life, and a bibliography.

Although the official minutes of the meeting are to be published in the forthcoming volume of the *Papers* of the Society, it seems well to report briefly that the eighth annual Spring meeting was held at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Chicago on March 21-22. In spite of the greatest blizzard of the winter, the attendance was good, and the papers read were of uniformly high character. Ample time was given for discussion of each paper as well as for fellowship and mutual acquaintance. The Research Committee presented an impressive report which indicated that it is busily carrying on its important work of collecting and collating source materials. The members and guests in attendance carried away a pleasant memory of the kind hospitality of the entertaining institution.

## IN MEMORIAM

MELANCHTHON G. G. SCHERER

Dr. Scherer, General Secretary of the United Lutheran Church in America, died on March 9, 1932, in New York City. He was born on March 16, 1861, in Catawba County, North Carolina. The son of the Rev. Simeon Scherer, he came of a line of Lutheran clergymen reaching back to colonial times. He was graduated in 1881 from Roanoke College at Salem, Virginia, and was ordained to the ministry in 1883. After pastorates in Grafton, West Virginia, Mount Holly Springs, Pennsylvania, Concord, North Carolina, and Charleston, he was President of North Carolina College from 1896 to 1899. From 1901 to 1904 he was professor in the Southern Lutheran Theological Seminary. As president of the United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South he was prominent in the formation of the United Lutheran Church, and at its organization in 1918 became its secretary. Dr. Scherer was one of the foremost leaders of American Lutheranism, holding important offices in various parts of administration and exerting a many-sided influence. He was a delegate to the Stockholm Conference of 1925 and the Lausanne Conference of 1927. He was an editor of the *Lutheran World Almanac and Encyclopaedia* and author of *Christian Liberty and Church Unity* (1932). He had been a member of the American Society of Church History since 1921.

## BOOK REVIEWS

### JESUS THROUGH THE CENTURIES

By SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1932. vii+382 pages. \$3.00.

It is sometimes assumed that the biographical interest in Jesus only arose in modern times, as a result of the critical movement and the break up of the ancient creeds. Professor Case sets himself to enquire how far this view is correct. He shows that from the first, behind the abstract theological discussion, there was a continuous effort to grasp the significance of Jesus as a historical figure.

The first part of the book is occupied with the development which took place within the New Testament period itself. Jesus' followers, as Professor Case understands their attitude, had looked to him in his lifetime as the possible leader in a successful revolt against Rome. When this hope was disappointed by his death they conceived of him as the future Messiah, who would presently descend in triumph to liberate his country and gather the faithful into the coming Kingdom. At the same time the Jewish messianic idea was blended in their minds with the Gentile one of the deified hero. Professor Case believes that this change was effected in Palestine itself, through Gentile influences which had penetrated the "hedge around the Law" and had affected even the primitive disciples. This is an original and fruitful suggestion, well worthy of consideration. When it had passed from Palestine into the Gentile world the conception of the deified hero merged in that of the Lord of a new mystery cult, and this, in turn, with the aid of the Logos hypothesis, made possible the doctrine of the Incarnate God. Henceforth the interest of the church was centered in the significance of Christ as a divine being and his relation to the supreme God. Professor Case, however, throws in a much needed caution against attaching an undue value to the Christological controversies. "The extensive literary activity of the theologians gives their speculations an importance far in excess of that which they had for the rank and file of the church in their own day." "The average man felt no need of philosophy to support his confidence in a Savior whom God had begotten and anointed through the operation of his Spirit." Professor Case, indeed, is inclined to accept Dr. McGiffert's view that Jesus was himself "the God of the early Christians."

In the second part of the book full attention is given to the theological speculations which had their final issue in the creed of Chalcedon. But this ground is familiar, and we should have preferred if more had been said of that interest in the actual Jesus which never ceased to occupy the popular mind. Perhaps the most illuminating part of the book is that which deals with the medieval period, when the conception of Jesus as a human character began definitely to assert itself. The different motives which brought about the reaction from the older theological attitude are analysed with skill and insight. To our mind the most valuable pages in the book are those devoted to the *Vita Christi* by Ludolph of Saxony, a Carthusian monk who died in 1377 A. D. This work, now forgotten,

may be regarded as the prelude to the modern investigation of the life of Christ. Professor Case has done a great service not only in making it known to us, but in determining the factors that entered into it and in connecting it with the movement before and afterwards. We hope that some day he will amplify these pages and give us a complete account of what is manifestly an epoch-making work.

From the Middle Ages he passes to the new period which set in with the rise of Protestantism. He points out, we think justly, that the Reformation did not by itself involve that better understanding of the life of Jesus with which it has often been credited. The teaching of Luther and Calvin led rather to a new metaphysic, and it was on the Catholic side more than on the Protestant that something like a living interest in the actual history was preserved. Even in the modern Protestant biographies Professor Case discovers too many of the old theological assumptions. He reviews the various presentations and finds them all wanting. What he desires, as he tells us emphatically in his last chapter, is a purely historical estimate, set free at last from all the pre-suppositions which have hampered the Christian mind from the beginning. He believes that in such an understanding of Jesus, based solely on what he was and did as a character in a given age of history, we shall find the solid ground for a re-construction of our faith.

It is this final chapter, disclosing as it does the fundamental thesis of the book, which will provoke dissent. The question inevitably arises, "How are we to recover this wholly historical Jesus?" A thousand writers have tried to unveil him to us, but none of them has given us a picture which is even remotely satisfying. It may further be asked whether the purely historical estimate, even if it were attainable, would be of much value. In a very great man there is always a significance which does not fully appear in any of the specific things he says or does. The effort to interpret this significance is legitimate and necessary; it is, indeed, the real task of the historian as opposed to the mere annalist. Paul and John and even the Greek creed-makers surely did something more than throw a smoke-screen of metaphysic around a Galilean prophet. They perceived a mystery in him which they were trying, by means of categories which were not precisely ours, to explain. To rule out their conception of him as quite imaginary does not seem to us true criticism. We would rather say that all the past interpretations have to be taken into account before we can reach out towards any full estimate of Jesus. The modern historical method too easily assumes that we cannot know the truth about bygone characters and events unless we take them at their minimum. We feel that Professor Case has yielded at times to this fallacy. In his anxiety to be strictly honest and objective he has left out aspects of the life of Jesus which were just as real as any others and which gave meaning to the whole later process of interpretation.

With some of the author's conclusions we disagree, but we cannot but admire the sincerity and ability which are stamped on every page of this remarkable book. Few of our living writers have the historical mind in a higher degree than Professor Case. He carries a strong search-light which he has turned on many dim regions of the past in his previous works. Perhaps his gift has never shown to more advantage than in the



present book, where he explores a path, often hardly visible, which winds through twenty centuries.

E. F. Scott.

The Union Theological Seminary.

# STUDIES IN ENGLISH PURITANISM FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION, 1660-1688

By C. E. WHITING. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Macmillan Company, 1931. xvi+584 pages. \$7.50.

Dr. Whiting had an interesting field in which to work when he began to write a history of Restoration Puritanism. Unfortunately he has not completed the task, though he expresses the hope that "these chapters form more or less a unity in giving a description of Puritan life, thought, controversy and organisation during the period between the Restoration and the Revolution." Of the four goals which he sets himself the author has most nearly approached the last two. Of organisation and controversy, there is a great deal. There are chapters dealing with "The Presbyterians and Independents," the Baptists, the Quakers, the foreign Protestants in England, and a long one devoted to a host of minor sects including the Unitarians, Fifth Monarchy Men and such strange mixtures of mysticism and more mundane elements as the Familists and the Ranters. Other chapters deal with the Act of Uniformity, attempts to enforce the Clarendon Code, and the controversies on church government, conformity, and toleration. Chapters on Dissenting life and institutions and some curious by-paths of Puritan literature summarize the facts about the Puritan system of education, and touch lightly on their intellectual, social, and literary history. Economic teachings are, however, quite neglected. The works of Weber, Troeltsch, and Tawney are not even included in the bibliography. On the other hand, there is some material which the title of the book would not lead us to expect. In Chapter IX there is a section devoted to the position of the Anglican clergy during the Restoration, and in the treatment of the Dissenting sects other than the Presbyterian there are long sections dealing with their origins and history in the period prior to 1660.

A great deal of very laborious work has been done on this volume. With the exception of Tawney's book the main English published works on the subject, both primary and secondary, have been consulted, and footnotes are numerous. However there seems to have been an undue amount of dependence upon the secondary works used, and as one result of this the proportions of the book have suffered. Sects like the Baptists and the Quakers which have been active in the publication of denominational histories receive comparatively full treatment while the Presbyterians are very slightly treated, though the author tells us they were as numerous as the Baptists and the Independents put together, and though they, unlike the other Dissenters, went through the very interesting process of having to abandon hopes of establishment; and the Independents actually receive less space than the Muggletonians. Errors of interpretation and fact have also arisen from this method of composition. Burage's picture of the early Congregationalists as sharply divided into dif-



ferent sects is too faithfully copied, and another source is allowed to mislead the author on page 85 into confusing a Seventh-Day Baptist who died in 1683 with his grandfather who was physician to James I.

On the other hand the works of foreign scholars are neglected. For example Miss Brown's American Historical Association Prize Essay on the *Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men* and the German works on the Familists are not mentioned. Worse yet is the fact that the rich manuscript resources of the British Museum and of Dr. Williams' Library near-by have been left untouched. Save for references to those published by other scholars, there are no manuscript citations.

With all its limitations Mr. Whiting's book will nevertheless serve a useful purpose. It is not only a compendium of facts concerning sects, persons, and law-enforcement in this period, but it is a mine of information concerning the titles and substance of much of the controversial literature of the time. The inclusion of facts which indicate a growth of a spirit of toleration among those who were not in the ranks of the persecuted also strikes a new note. While there are plenty of distressing accounts of informers, who betrayed conventicles for money, of mistreatment of the living, and even of curious unofficial exhumations of the dead prompted by religious bigotry, one is glad to be reminded of the many churchmen and officials, including the sovereigns themselves, who refused to prosecute, of the conforming clergy who consented to share their pulpits with non-conforming brethren and even to walk two by two with them at funerals, of the sailors who would not transport Quakers, and even of the populace which occasionally mobbed the informers.

The spirit in which the work is written is worthy of such material. Save for a few passages in the first two chapters the treatment of controversial matters is quite impartial, though the author is in Anglican orders. In fact, the Quakers are described not only with respect but with something approaching admiration.

M. M. Knappen.

The University of Chicago.

### THE CHRISTIAN SAGA

By NORMAN TOWAR BOGGS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931.  
2 vols., xv, viii, 1082 pages. \$9.00.

The author's aim in these ample volumes is "to recount the adventure of Christendom with its Christianity." "Christendom" here means "a concrete social entity, so identified with Christianity that it is difficult to say whether . . . Christianity belonged to it, or it belonged to Christianity." Western European society in medieval and modern times is this "social entity." Mr. Boggs first writes a history of Christianity down to the break-up of the Roman Empire, interpreting many things unconventionally and with insight. Then, beginning with the sixth century, he gives three quarters of his space to a study of civilization in western Europe in relation to Christianity, describing how the religion has influenced and been influenced, how the "social entity" identified with Christianity grew up, and how Christianity fared in this environment. His narrative ends in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, because

by that time the story has been told. Then Roman Catholicism had "separated itself from the evolving social and intellectual situation;" it had announced its "refusal to move in the direction in which Christendom appeared to be going;" it had "ceased to be . . . the Christianity of Christendom." As for Protestantism, its fate had been sealed by the general perception that Christianity "was by no means as essential to the preservation of a stable moral pattern of economic society as had been imagined." It had been "relegated to the role of a leisure pursuit of Protestant Christians, in which the more effective energies and interests of the social complex were no longer interested as they had been; and one might scarcely look upon Protestant Christianity as a Christianity of Christendom." Hence "Christianity was no longer conceived to be a corporate attitude, upon which social organisms counted to further . . . the interests which preserved or which drove them forward;" and "it no longer interested Christendom to guard or guide it as the Christianity of Christendom." Before 1900, Mr. Boggs is sure, this had taken place.

Considerations are presented in these words which certainly challenge the thought of those who are in earnest about Christianity, and which also cannot be discussed in a review. But a review may rightfully note some serious limitations of Mr. Boggs' view of Christianity. He does not consider the Christianity of Eastern Europe, and though he is an American, he recognizes the existence of the Americas only by two references to American books. To these exclusions he is entitled, for he is studying Christianity in western European society. But here there are significant limitations. Wesley's work and the Methodist movement receive a rather contemptuous paragraph, while eight pages are given to Newman. There is no reference to the humanitarian service generated by the revival which Wesley inspired. The significance of Calvinistic religion as a social force is little appreciated. Mr. Boggs' only manifestation of prejudice is against Calvin's teaching and followers. He cannot speak of "the elect" without rage, which is unfortunate for one who seeks to estimate the influence of Christianity upon society. Quakerism is recognized by the quotation of some so-called "smug reflections" from Fox. The endeavor, gathering force through the nineteenth century in England and elsewhere in Europe, to bring Christianity to bear on social relations is hardly mentioned. Missions, which certainly are a part of European Christendom's "adventure with its Christianity," have no existence for Mr. Boggs. The publisher's advertisement on the jacket gives the information that the author has lived in France since 1923. This may explain his detached attitude toward Protestantism. For better or for worse, his book in many respects does not present the judgments of one nearly related to religious associations and activities. The author's circumstances may also explain why, although he is not partial to Roman Catholicism, he does give the Roman Church too large a place in his picture.

Mr. Boggs' book has many merits. He has a broad and sound conception of the social relations of a religion. Out of wide reading he brings some rare treasures. Although the many errors in proof-reading might cause expectation of something different, his statements are generally trustworthy. He utters many discerning reflections, especially with regard to the relations of religion to art and thought. It is regrettable

that he has based radical conclusions on a partial observation of the relevant facts.

Robert Hastings Nichols.

Auburn Theological Seminary.

### IRISH MONASTICISM—ORIGINS AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT

By REV. JOHN RYAN, S. J. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1931.  
xv, 413, xiv pages. \$6.00.

Dr. Ryan has given us not only the most extensive and scholarly treatment of early Irish monasticism that has yet appeared, but also, with the distinguished exception of Kenney's bibliographical compilation, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, Vol. I.; *Ecclesiastical*, the most considerable work on Celtic Christianity since Gougaud's *Les chrétiens celtiques*, first published in 1911. Unfortunately Ryan's work was completed in manuscript before that of Kenney could be consulted, and no revision under the latter's influence has been made.

The treatise begins by reviewing, in the two chapters of Section I, with certain theological presuppositions natural to a Roman Catholic writer, the rise of Christian asceticism and the development of monasticism in the East and the West. In Section II, having devoted nearly forty pages to St. Patrick, the author takes only eight pages to examine the scant materials for the period from Patrick's death, 461, to the foundation of Clonard, 520. A long chapter follows on the period of the great monastic founders; and this is appropriately followed by a treatment of the British Church in the sixth century, when its leaders exercised an important influence in Ireland. This section ends with a study of "the monasteries and jurisdiction" in which some open questions are uncontroversially handled. Section III is an extended survey, comprising more than half the book, of the various aspects of monastic life, mainly between 560 and 650.

A work so comprehensive and erudite does not lend itself to brief review, and only a few features of the author's interpretation can here be noted. Despite Patrick's "enthusiastic" statements about the uncounted number of monks and virgins who took vows under his ministry, Dr. Ryan believes that few of the church leaders placed in office by him were monastics. He holds that this policy did not differ from that of Martin of Tours, whom Patrick probably knew well through the life by Sulpitius Severus—the edition of which in the Book of Armagh is unaffected by the partisan mutilation that took place in the continental copies. He sees in the dim period between Patrick and Finnian of Clonard, the rise of monasticism to influence. The date which he assigns for Gildas' birth, "about 500," is inexact and later than that arrived at by most recent authorities. At the conclusion of his illuminating treatment of the relations of monastic and episcopal jurisdiction, he points out that Patrick's foundations "must often have been merely experimental," and that political disturbances especially affected the regions of the founder's chief activity. The second stage of development was marked by the attachment of sees to monasteries, under the influence of Gildas and Finnian. The

exercise of primatial authority by Armagh, while local political units were virtually independent of the High King was difficult, and Armagh ceased to be "a metropolitan see in the canonical sense." In the sixth century almost all jurisdiction was exercised by the monasteries. National assemblies were held every three years, and apparently synods regularly met in connection with these. The episcopal order was held in honor, but power rested with the presbyter-abbots.

Dr. Ryan has no patience with the view that Ireland relapsed into paganism after its first conversion and was restored by the British saints. "The faith was not abandoned, and therefore could not be restored in full, but it was weak and could be strengthened." In discussing the Penitentials he incidentally charges the present reviewer with having (*Celtic Penitentials*, etc., Paris, 1923) "stressed unduly" the survival of paganism in Ireland. This is very different from the question of a "relapse" into paganism, and it is to be regretted that the author has not discussed the extensive evidence for the continuous manifestation of pagan elements in Irish Christianity, so as to determine for us what would be a just evaluation of these data.

A mass of material has been presented to reveal the internal life of the monasteries. The view that monks were mainly recruited from the upper and middle classes is supported by a list of instances of distinguished persons. The provision of the *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, III, 39ff., that the monastery was to receive the first-born son and every seventh son of a father, apparently without distinction of class, is not considered here. However, we have no record of the date of this regulation, and possibly we should regard it as relatively late. Dr. Ryan takes a modest view of Irish monastic learning, and on the question of Greek adopts the negative judgment of Esposito that except the alphabet and a few words and phrases no Greek was known. The evidence of continuity with earlier monasticism, rather than of originality or peculiarity, is stressed; but it is suggested that the zeal for learning which distinguished the Irish was an inheritance from the pre-Christian culture. There are useful sections on clothing, food, sleep, austerities, and the physical conditions of the monasteries. The discipline was much more severe than that of Benedictine, and indeed more rigorous than that of Pachomian, monasticism.

The book is admirably arranged, and, except for a few spots where facts and names have become crowded, lucidly written. The indexes of persons, places and subject-matter are good as far as they go, but need enlargement to make the book more serviceable as a work of reference. Dr. Ryan has well earned the gratitude of the increasing body of students of Irish ecclesiastical history.

John T. McNeill

The University of Chicago.

### THE FRANCISCAN ADVENTURE

By VIDA D. SCUDDER. New York: Dutton, 1931. 432 pages. \$5.00.

Is Saint Francis of Assisi the answer to the world's social perplexities? The author of this remarkably erudite and penetrating study traces the course of the Franciscan Adventure during the course of the



thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and comes to the conclusion that it did not cure medieval society of its ills. Nevertheless she holds out the hope that the world of the present may find salvation, or partial salvation, in the ideals of St. Francis. "The time" she says, "is ripe for a new Franciscanism, and it might spring from people who never heard of the saint. It would fail, as all partial groups must fail, but it would hand on the undying fire. It would not only concentrate on individual sanctity, but would spread abroad and, so far as may be, practise a social code which might, if adopted, enable all men to live without greed and without shame."

There is no end to the making of books on St. Francis, but this volume neither repeats nor overlaps the others. The Saint Francis who is so sympathetically evoked in these pages is the saint of the early Franciscan literature and of the contemporary medieval artists, but it is, at the same time, a St. Francis who might, as he is here portrayed, lead the world gleefully and joyously to break the materialistic bonds that hold it in thrall to power and property. The author touches on many topics, but she is at her best when she speaks of St. Francis. Part One of the book, entitled the Background, will provoke some questioning and, perhaps, some dissent. Many will ask whether too much stress has not been laid on the social side of the Franciscan movement and too little on its ascetical character. It is true that no ascetical movement can attain to great proportions without correspondingly important social consequences and changes, but the question will persist whether the key to these changes is not to be found in the ascetical rather than in the social phase of the movement. The author does wisely in raising the question whether St. Francis ever intended to establish a religious order. He did unquestionably plan that his disciples should follow the counsels of perfection, but in marking out the course they should pursue he was not bound by anything in monastic tradition to recommend them to give themselves to the service of humanity in the manner of the older religious orders. For himself Francis chose Poverty and found boundless joy in having nothing so that nothing might impair his boundless love for all. This is the side of Francis' character and ideals that the author has caught and that she finds reflected in the lives of his early disciples.

The second and main portion of the book is devoted to an analysis of the ideals of Francis and their fate during the century after his death. There are no harsh words for those later Franciscans who did not, as the author argues, follow in the footsteps of the master, but neither is there any tendency to construe their defection into a verdict that Francis failed or that his ideals were unattainable. The author can write without rancor about Brother Elias, for whom she has neither admiration nor sympathy, and she describes St. Bonaventure in a manner that brings out all his great qualities as a saint and a scholar, even though these qualities seem somewhat dwarfed by comparison with the glory of St. Francis. The effulgence and fragrance of the life of Francis pervade the entire narrative, and with the example of "der allerliebste aller Heiligen," as Harnack called him, before her eyes it is not surprising that at times other things seem slightly out of focus. There are many who will dissent to the description of St. Augustine's *City of God* as "a rambling and confused work," and who will seriously question whether there is really a modern sense of the dignity of labor, or whether it can be true that a Christian

ascetic would look on pain as an end in itself. It comes somewhat as a shock to be told, after reading of the burning love for his fellows with which Francis was inflamed, that to him the surrender of possessions so long as there were any that lacked was an obvious act of Christian justice (p. 52). This is an anticlimax. There are other trifling faults, and it may seem as invidious to refer to them, as to the description of the parish priests as the regular clergy. But they are quickly forgotten when, in one of the rapid transitions in which the book abounds, the saint is made to confront some of the social problems of the present. "Francis would have to study economics—a painful thought—if he were with us now: he might even be found attending a Conference of Organized Charities, which would be a sad substitute for the Chapter of the Mats." To comprehend the mystery of modern charity in the form of Applied Sociology might baffle even a Francis.

Excellent as the book is as history it may also serve as a stimulating tonic to the social thought of even the best intentioned of our social reformers, though the blithesomeness of the singing disciples who followed Francis may appear strange in contrast to the grimness with which the uplifter approaches his task. Though one may not go so far as to believe that Franciscanism is a specific cure for all the social ills of the present, it is impossible to lay down this book without the conviction that the world would be better for knowing and imitating Francis. Miss Scudder knows Francis and has sought to interpret him to the world in which she lives. Many persons may not agree with what she has to say, but there are few who will not love her St. Francis.

Patrick Joseph Healy.

Catholic University of America.

#### LEONARD BACON: A STATESMAN IN THE CHURCH

By THEODORE DAVENPORT BACON. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931. 563 pages. \$5.00.

Originally the biography of Bacon was intended simply as a family memorial, much of the material being collected by a son and daughter (?) of Leonard Bacon. The work was partially written and later taken up by a grandson, Theodore D. Bacon, who died shortly before it was put into final form. The editorial task was then assumed by a brother of Theodore, the late Professor Benjamin W. Bacon of Yale University.

Leonard Bacon himself was born in frontier Detroit, in 1802, the son of David Bacon, a pioneer missionary. A part of Leonard's childhood was spent in Ohio, but the failure of his father as a missionary sent the family back to Connecticut, where Bacon received practically all of his education, his collegiate work being done at Yale and his seminary training at Andover.

Fate decreed that his life was to be closely knitted with Yale Divinity School, founded in 1822, for he was called to the Center Church, New Haven, where he served as pastor in an active capacity for more than forty years.

Bacon lived in an interesting day. His life embraced practically the whole of the Plan of Union period between Presbyterians and Congregationalists, it included the era of heresy trials, the slavery controversy

and a part of the pre-prohibition age. It was also a generation in which many national church organizations came into being, such as: The American Home Missionary Society, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American Education Society, &c. Thus it offered a man of Bacon's stamp almost unlimited opportunity to play a very prominent part in the life of his denomination.

The subject of this biography did considerable writing and served for a number of years as editor-in-chief of the *Independent*, a most influential religious weekly. He took an active part in the larger affairs of his denomination, being interested in the missionary enterprises. He embraced the cause of progressive orthodoxy, was a non-Garrisonian anti-slavery man, and opposed the theory of prohibition of liquor. During his later years he served on the faculty of Yale Divinity School—Congregational history and polity being his subjects, although originally called to fill the place of Prof. Nathaniel Taylor.

This many-sided life of Leonard Bacon contains a history of Congregationalism of the 19th century, and as such is indeed worthy of so extensive a biography as that which has been written.

On the whole the work is well done. It neither ministers especially to the vanity of the family by undue glorification, nor does it spare them by glossing over the weaknesses of the man and the family.

There are some questionable statements and errors in the book, e. g., "Not less than two thousand churches are estimated to have thus changed their allegiance," under the Plan of Union. This statement is made by Williston Walker, based upon a quotation from Ross, who apparently takes it from the report of the Albany Convention of 1852.\* The reviewer doubts whether there is any possible way of verifying that figure. Moreover in discussing the abrogation of the Plan of Union in 1837, the writer seems to make the theological issue the reason for it, whereas in reality there were other and equally important factors which entered into the schism.

One regrets very much that a work of such import and extent should contain no index and no bibliography. The book is not annotated and there is scarcely any indication as to the sources of material for the volume. However, it is quite probable that Bacon left a number of diaries or journals, to which the author had free access if they were not in possession of the family. The famous Dexter collection at Yale and the unpublished collection of letters at the Congregational House in Hartford are rich mines of information. The Hartford collection contains a large number of letters by David Bacon. First Parish Church, Hartford, has an unusual collection and it is quite likely that Center Church, New Haven, also has some valuable records. The records of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American Education Society, and other organizations with which Dr. Bacon was closely connected, would likewise furnish no little material. The published works of the American Home Missionary Society may have been consulted, but it is not apparent that the American Home Missionary Society collection of letters at Chicago was used. *The Independent*, of which Dr. Bacon was

\* Walker, *Congregationalists*, *American Church History Series*. Ross, *Lectures on Congregationalism*.

editor, and other published religious papers of the day relating to those things in which he was interested, would also be valuable sources of information, and one must not forget the proceedings of the Albany Convention of 1852, the report of which includes much that was said and done by Bacon.

Gordon A. Riegler.

Moorhead, Minn.

### FOREIGN INFLUENCE UPON HUSITISM

*Husitství a cizina.* By F. M. BARTOŠ. Praha: Čin, 1931. 270 pages. Kč. 45.—

Among the present-day scholars of *Husitica*, an outstanding place is held by Dr. F. M. Bartoš of the John Hus Theological Faculty of Prague, because of his productive researches in the field and his originality of treatment. He has contributed a large number of critical monographs to the subject which give him a right to be regarded as an authority.

The present work posits as its theme the effect of foreign influences upon the Husite movement. It summarizes and evaluates a great deal of previous, in many instances not readily accessible, material dealing with this aspect of the subject, and in many respects contributes much that is entirely new. Since to many scholars the book is likely to remain a closed one for linguistic reasons, it may be of value to present its chief conclusions.

The most important among the various topics treated are those dealing with the influence of Wyclif upon Hus, with the place of the chalice in the movement, with Marsilius of Padua, with the work of Peter Payne, and with the part played by the Picards in Bohemia.

As for the influence of Wyclif upon Hus, Dr. Bartoš presents a cogent series of proofs to show that the judgment of Loserth, echoed in most of the German and the English literature dealing with it and published since his time, is no longer valid. Hus was not primarily a disciple of Wyclif; he was at first a member and later the leader of the indigenous reform movement represented by Milič of Kroměříž and Matthew of Janov, upon whom he was dependent to a greater degree than upon Wyclif. There was, of course, a fundamental similarity of reform ideas in the Czech and English reform movements which made it natural for Hus to become an enthusiastic admirer of the famous English doctor. The struggle over Wyclif which broke out in the University of Prague and finally involved Hus in a controversy with the archbishop and ultimately with the pope and the Council of Constance was thus fundamentally not over the English reformer, but over the native reform movement, over the ideas advocated by Matthew of Janov and Milič of Kroměříž. The acceptance of positions of this chapter would necessitate the rewriting of a great bulk of the extant literature on the subject.

The insistent demand for the cup to be given to the laity in the celebration of the Lord's Supper was among the chief characteristics of the Czech reform movement. The Council of Constance condemned the usage (June 15, 1415), and this act not much less than the condemnation of Hus was the chief cause for setting up in Bohemia of a dissenting church.



The originator of the practice of giving the cup to the laity was Jakoubek (Jacobellus) of Mies, preacher of the Church of St. Martin in the Wall in Prague, and after Hus, the most important Czech reformer. What led him to adopt this practice? There are two hypotheses: one holds that he derived it from Matthew of Janov, another that he took it from Wyclif. To this, the author adds a discussion of the tradition incorporated in Aeneas Sylvius' *Historia Bohemica*, that the real inspirer of the practice was Master Peter of Dresden, by presenting proofs that the legend is unhistorical insofar as it substituted Peter of Dresden for Nicholas of Dresden. Besides, Bartoš also points still to another source, namely to the similar usage in the Eastern Orthodox Churches, the knowledge of which was brought to the Czech reformers from Lithuania by Jerome of Prague.

The work of the English disciple of Wyclif, Peter Payne, who found refuge in Bohemia and became an influential member of the reform party, is treated at considerable length. It affords an insight into the close relation of the English and the Czech movements.

Finally, the author gathers the hitherto scattered notices regarding the group of mystics who, having been driven by the Inquisition from their homes in Picardy, found refuge in Bohemia. They were not Waldensians or Wyclifites, as had been thought formerly, but mystics who placed the witness of the spirit within them above the formal precepts of the Bible. Sometimes they called themselves *amici dei*. Hence, when their attitude toward the Bible became known, their opinions caused a storm of protest from the Husites who built their entire program upon the Bible. The movement perpetuated itself underground as the Adamite sect, and later in the various obscure deistic movements, among whom the sect of the *Children of the Pure Living* are the best known.

The whole work is of unusual value as throwing light upon the hitherto neglected phases of the study of *Husitica*, and as such contributes not a little to the final evaluation of the Czech reformation.

Matthew Spinka.

The Chicago Theological Seminary.

#### THE HELLENISTIC ELEMENTS IN CHRISTIANITY

By ANATHON AALL. London: The University of London Press, 1931. viii+92 pages. 3s. 6d. net.

This book is the text of three lectures given in London by the Professor of Philosophy in the University of Oslo, in the spring of 1929. Its brevity and lucidity combined make the challenge it throws down to theologians of the Christian Church all the more effective as the positive counterpart to Harnack's "reduced" Christianity. Professor Aall states the problem in the following words: "Is there in the positive religious system of Christian believers anything especially favourable to the advance of those scientific and intellectual ideals which are the glory of the Christianized world?" (p. 6). His answer falls into three parts. First, protesting against the prevalent idea "that we cannot get at the truth" (p. 13) in regard to Jesus, he points out that He "was himself, so to speak, an incarnation of the principles he was thus inculcating" (p. 21), viz., "love, in sense of unconditional and unrestrained goodness" (p. 20), and

he finds no Hellenic elements in His teaching (p. 28). "Greek philosophy is one thing, the religion of Jesus another" (p. 30). The missionary vocation brought Christian thought into contact with Hellenism, into whose wake His followers were drawn (p. 38). This marks the second stage, and the process really antedates Christianity (p. 44) and is associated with Alexandria. The analysis of the process of this union and the part played by Saint Paul occupies a large space, and in establishing his position, Professor Aall draws largely on the work of Dr. Cobern. The key to the whole coalescence he finds in the Logos-doctrine, which dates from Heraclitus (c. 500 B. C.) (p. 58), and in its application to religious thought from Philo. The working out of the fusion marks the third stage (pp. 58-89).

The main feature which strikes the reader is the extent to which the process of substitution of Neoplatonism for the teaching and life of Jesus has succeeded. He is left with the feeling that whatever Alexandrian theology is, it is not Christianity. The very brevity of the treatment tends to emphasize the conclusion, which carries with it the corollary that scientific and philosophical progress has been rendered compatible with Christianity only by the exclusion of those elements which are the peculiar contribution of its Founder. This result, established impartially, will be as welcome to some as it is unwelcome to others. The most serious objection to its acceptance, however, lies in the fact that Professor Aall has limited himself, of necessity, to theologians and the *intelligenza* of Christendom, and the remark of Anastasius of Sinai still holds good, that "the Catholic faith has never recognized the limits imposed on it by the canons of Greek philosophers." Despite its theologians there has always been "a remnant that had not bowed the knee" to the philosophical Baal, but their faith has never found more than an occasional and subordinate place in theological writings, *neque sine contemptu ignorantiae laicae*.

Two slight misprints occur: on page 9, "noting" for "nothing" and on p. 86 "wth" for "with".

F. W. Buckler.

The Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio.

### THE LETTERS OF JOHN WESLEY

Edited by JOHN TELFORD. London: The Epworth Press, 1931. 8 vols. £7, 7s.

Few great church leaders have been as fortunate as Wesley in the careful compilation and edition of their writings. Curnock's edition of Wesley's *Journal* has for years been the standard work in that field. Previous collections of his correspondence contain in one instance about 400 letters, in another about 950. In this *magnum opus* we find 2670 letters written during the years 1721-1791 with the exception of 1722 and 1728. Although the collection is "complete", it is safe to say that not all extant letters have been included. Fortunately, a few belated ones made their appearance in time to be placed at the end of the last volume.

The correspondence is arranged, not as in Eayr's Collection according to nature and content, but in chronological order. Most of these letters were written by Wesley's own hand to innumerable friends whom he wished to encourage and advise or admonish or reprimand, and from

whom he in turn expected communications, for he writes: "I am never so busy as to forget my friends." Usually he wrote at odd moments during his busy eighteen hour days. For the more lengthy epistles only, especially of a controversial nature, did he take "time out", as is to be seen from the one to his father (Dec. 10, 1734) which comprises twenty-six heads covering twelve pages of the text.

This is the first time that we have his letters to Mrs. Pendarves in full (including many of her replies). One gets the impression that Cyrus (Wesley) and Aspasia (Mrs. Pendarves) were in love. The style is stilted in these earlier days, at times approaching the diction of a weighty state document. A propensity for indulging in kindly preachments is especially noticeable in letters to his female correspondents. In much of his writing, however, a critic of the caliber of Leslie Stephen claimed that he showed remarkable literary power, "pithy in expression . . . without one superfluous flourish."

Of real value to the reader is the fact that many letters written to Wesley are given in full or in part. The controversy with William Law, for instance, is thus clarified, especially the acrid words used in the May correspondence of 1738 before the Aldersgate experience. Comparing the letters written before and after that famous experience of Wesley's, one can clearly see the emphasis upon self-culture and self-expression changing into and becoming submerged in the larger affairs of the expanding religious movement.

In connection with the standard edition of the *Journal* one can now create for oneself a picture of this itinerating and organizing revivalist as he actually lived and thought. His letters in particular reveal his peculiar weaknesses, his credulity and superstitions, as well as his remarkable strength, poise, and mastery of conditions. Many valuable explanatory notes, portraits, facsimiles, and a detailed index contribute to make this work one of abiding value.

A. W. Nagler.

The Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

### JOHN CALVIN, THE MAN AND HIS ETHICS

By GEORGIA HARKNESS. New York: Henry Holt and Company. xvi+266 pages. \$3.00.

The reader of this book is impressed by the author's erudition and balance. Without flaunting her learning, she has evinced a good grasp of her material—and to one who is acquainted with the *Opera Calvini* that is saying a good deal. Use has been made of Calvin's sermons and letters as well as the *Institutes*. Competent critics will recognize that she has dug into the sources themselves, and to that extent her work bears authority.

No less can be said of her good sense. Professor Harkness' aptness for felicitous statement increases the reader's feeling that here we have a mature, unprejudiced estimate of Calvin's person and ethics. That is, the author is neither Calvinistic nor anti-Calvinistic. Nor can it on any count be said that her work lacks warmth of sympathetic treatment. It is a book which proves well how stimulatingly one may write if one proceeds on the assumption that history should be studied primarily for the purpose

of *understanding* the past. That is an end in itself. Professor Harkness has a thesis to defend, of course, but it is none other than that Calvin should be appreciated for what he was.

This is the secret of the author's balance. Cases in point are her interpretations of the Genevan bibliocracy, of the source of Calvin's ethics, and of his belief in the sovereignty of God. Perhaps the best chapters are in the Third Part, which contain discussions of Calvin's views on the subject of domestic relations, the middle class virtues, etc. Her sections on the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism are very fine. Her treatment of Weber's thesis adds no little to clarifying for the lay mind the question of Calvin's contribution to the development of capitalism.

It appears to be difficult to throw much radically new light on Calvin. A book of less than three hundred pages could not have been calculated to do this, particularly on so large a subject. But much is still to be done to introduce the real Calvin, the whole man, to our general public in so far as it is interested in the history of religion, ethics, politics, and economics. Professor Harkness has set an example worth emulating.

Quirinus Breen.

Hillsdale College, Michigan.

#### THE SOCIAL SOURCES OF DENOMINATIONALISM

By H. RICHARD NIEBUHR. New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1929. ix+304 pp. \$2.50.

Dr. Niebuhr has at last made explicit what every church historian knows but what, for some reason, every other church historian has failed to work out in detail, namely, that denominationalism is primarily a social phenomenon. The sociologists of the type of Weber and Troeltsch, whom the author generally follows, laid the foundations for the social study of Christianity, but they have been so preoccupied with sociological generalizations or "laws" that the concrete historical documentation has too often been overlooked or distorted. Dr. Niebuhr's volume is valuable primarily for its historical detail. Though he follows the sociological classifications of national, middle-class and "disinherited" churches and attempts to formulate the general religious characteristics of each group, he lays more stress on the specific historical occasions and social groups which created the denominational differences. The wealth of pertinent historical materials which he has gleaned and the telling way in which he uses it promise the dawn of a new day in the writing of church history—a day when *Dogmengeschichte* will take on a new significance, because dogmas will once more appear as symbols of social differentiation rather than as causes of theological differences. Creeds were originally called "symbols," and it is significant that this volume is the outcome of a course in Symbolics.

Throughout the book the author treats sectarianism as an evil. "The history of schism has been a history of Christianity's defeat" (p. 264). He pleads for a more effective effort toward church unity on the basis of a clearer recognition of the need for social unity. The major premise of the argument is that the Christian gospel was originally universalistic in its appeal and message, and that the subsequent divisions among Christians represent the failure of Christian ethics to dominate society. Such a thesis might easily be challenged, and it might be maintained, on the



contrary, that Christianity retained its vitality precisely because of its ability to adapt itself to the moral and economic needs of particular groups and events. It is difficult to see how a universal or catholic gospel could have been effective amid the increasing political and economic differentiation of European society. Be this as it may, the author's contention that the social differences between denominations are more operative today than their creedal *rapprochements* or common ideals is convincingly established.

Chapters II and III are devoted to the Protestant churches of the disinherited; Chapter IV to a discussion of the relation between Calvinism and middle-class ethics; Chapter V to the national churches; and Chapters VI to IX to American denominationalism in its various aspects, sectional, national and racial. The complicated patterns produced in America by the interrelation of these various aspects give at least the key to an understanding of the maze of American sectarianism. Unfortunately the economic factor receives less attention in the author's analysis of the American denominations than it deserves, though he brings out clearly the fundamental change which came over the great American churches when they became predominantly middle-class institutions.

The subject-matter of the work is so enormous that its treatment is necessarily suggestive rather than exhaustive; it prompts the reader to hope for both more extensive and more intensive cultivation of the author's theme. Dr. Niebuhr, himself, suggests that "the social history of the long controversies between Arian, Nestorian, Monophysite and Orthodox Christians and all the resultant sectarian movements is still largely obscure" (p. 113). The forces of nationalism in the Eastern Church, the Catholicism of European peasants, the economic aspects of Mormonism, and the sociology of Christian Science and New Thought—these are some of the themes taken at random which occur to the reviewer as fruitful fields for the extension of Dr. Niebuhr's type of church history.

Herbert W. Schneider.

Columbia University.

#### THE CHURCH IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

By ERWIN R. GOODENOUGH. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931. xii+132 pages. \$1.00.

The Berkshire Studies in European History are designed as college texts, each to cover a week's reading. The treatment is of course non-technical. The primary need is for simplification and clarification.

Professor Goodenough has shown genuine skill in this survey of the history of Christianity down to the beginnings of the Middle Ages. His main theme is to explain how the religion of a Galilean peasant became not merely the religion of the Roman Empire, but the very successor of the Empire, and how in the process the religion of Judaism, the ethics of Stoicism, the philosophy of Platonism and of Neo-Platonism, the pomp and sacramentalism of the Mysteries, the law and organization of Rome and even the polytheism of paganism disguised as saint worship, how all these entered into that Christianity which was to dominate the Middle Ages. The account is swift, straitforward and well chiselled as to the main outlines. The broad trends seem to me better sketched for the

period up to the death of Constantine. The controversies of the ecumenical councils are of course extremely difficult to disentangle.

The author confines himself rigidly to historical evidence, leaving to others transcendental explanations, but he is far from that cold detachment which disqualifies the historian for the understanding of religious history. Not only for the martyrs, but even for the monks we find here warm appreciation and profound respect.

Difference of opinion is inevitable in a work of this kind as to the selection and distribution of material. This is an essay and not a directory, and the author does well to omit even famous names. But why should Caecilian be mentioned when Irenaeus, Tertullian, Justin, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen are left out? As to the proportions in details one wonders whether the *Didache* deserves nearly two pages when the *City of God* receives scarcely half a page.

On page 63 I think there is a slip. With regard to the three persons in the Trinity the statement is made, "Each of these was fully God, and yet there were not three natures, not three Gods, but one Nature and one God." Should not "substance" be substituted for "nature"?

Roland H. Bainton.

Yale Divinity School.